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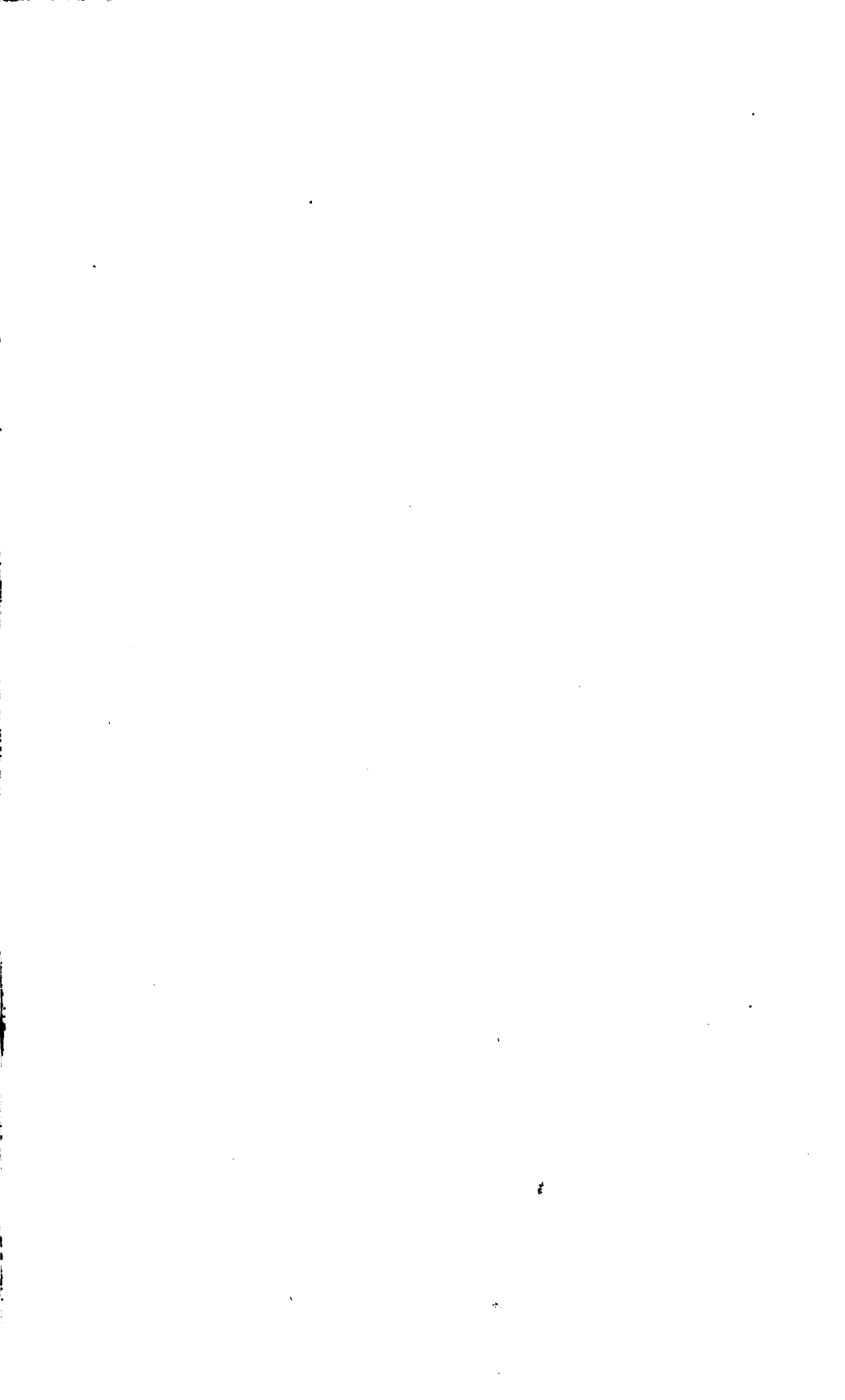
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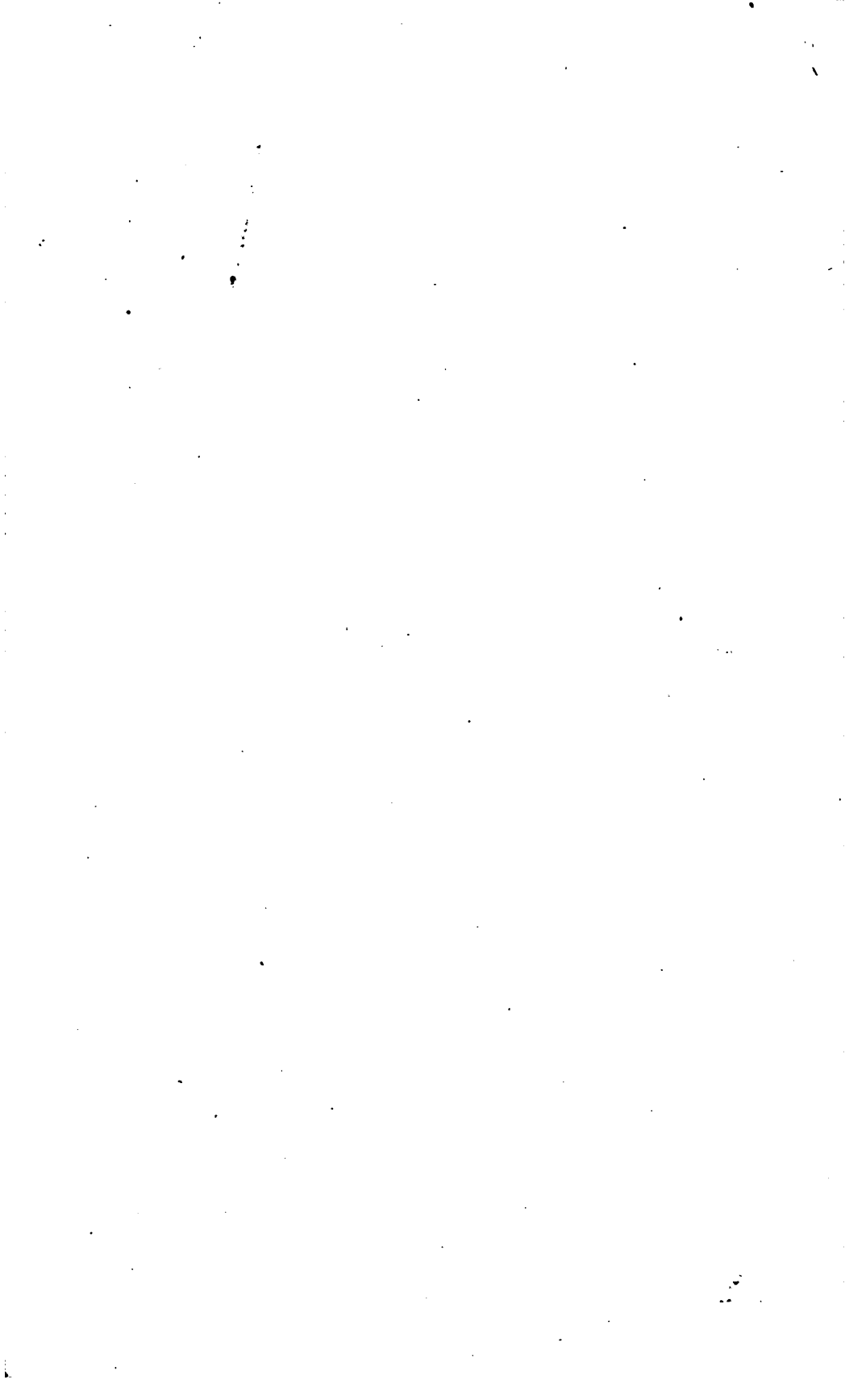
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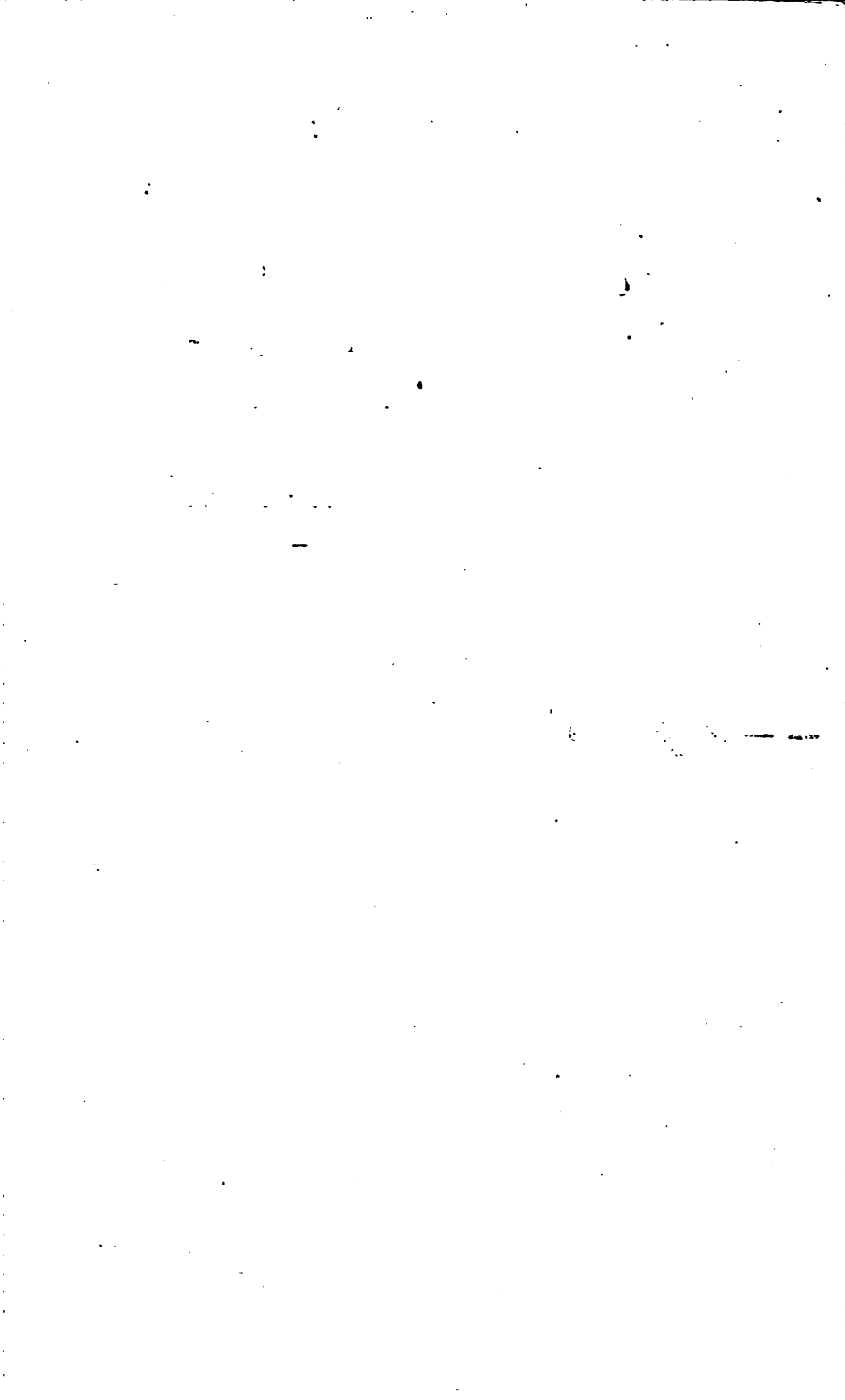
CLASS OF 1830

SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

FOR BOOKS RELATING TO
POLITICS AND FINE ARTS







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©

Butler

The Candidature for the Presidency in eight years of
Stephen A. Douglas. His selfishness, and the
Duplicity in principle of his followers.

S P E E C H

OF

Franklin
GEN. BENJ. F. BUTLER,

IN

LOWELL,

AUGUST 10, 1860.

c LOWELL:
ADVERTISER OFFICE—HILDRETH & HUNT, PRINTERS.
1860.

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of Boston.
(Class of 1835.)

PROCEEDINGS.

At a call signed by a large majority of the Democratic City Committee, the Democracy of Lowell turned out, in overwhelming numbers, for the purpose of ratifying the nominations of Breckinridge and Lane for the Presidency and Vice Presidency.

The meeting was called to order by T. A. CROWLEY, Esq., Secretary of the Democratic City Committee, who read the following list of officers for the permanent organization of the meeting:

PRESIDENT :

PETER HAGGERTY, CHAIRMAN OF DEMOCRATIC CITY COMMITTEE.

VICE PRESIDENTS :

JAMES C. ABBOTT,
DAVID M. COLLINS,
JOHN L. ROLLINS,
HARVEY SILVER,
E. A. CLARK,
WILLARD DUDLEY,
H. L. WILLIAMS,
OLIVER J. CONANT,
HUGH McEVoy,
CHARLES FRENCH,
HOLLAND STREETFR,
WILLIAM H. CLEMENCE,
OTIS BULLARD,

ALBERT WHISKER,
GEORGE MOLLOY,
HANOVER DICKEY,
JOHN P. SLOCUM,
JAMES J. MAGUIRE,
THOMAS RYAN,
LEVI HEDGE,
DAVID CAMPBELL,
DENNIS LANNAN,
JOHN WARREN,
SAMUEL E. CONVERS,
P. J. TORIN.

SECRETARIES :

CHARLES HUNT,

TIMOTHY A. CROWLEY.

The PRESIDENT, on taking the chair, made a brief and pertinent speech, introducing General BUTLER, who offered the following resolutions :

Resolved, That the National Democracy of the City of Lowell, in convention assembled, do ratify and affirm the nominations of BRECKINRIDGE and LANE as candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States.

Resolved, That while we deplore the disruption of the Democratic party whereby a portion has gone off to follow their leader in an attack upon our time-honored principles, in violation of its usages and customs, all of which we hold dear, and regret their departure, we cannot follow them even half way to the Republicans.

Resolved, That those who charge the National Democracy with being "disunionists" make a false accusation for political effect, and in answer to it we hereby again pledge ourselves to the Union and the Constitution, the equality of the States, and State Rights one and inseparable, forever to be guarded and preserved with more than filial devotion by loyal hearts and strong hands.

Resolved, That we will maintain our connection with the true Democracy of the Union; that we hold every one against us who is not for us; that we hold no union or communion with those who have gone away from those doctrines of the party which are essential to the preservation of the Union!

Resolved, That we cordially invite to co-operate with us, all Democrats and lovers of the Constitution and the Union, who prefer the success of our party, rather than the triumph of an individual; who love principles rather than men; who love their country rather than worship a chieftain.

ADDRESS.

Fellow Citizens:—It is pleasant again to meet you to give a further account of the trust confided to me.

Douglas' Nomination Impossible.

When we met before, undisturbed, I gave you my deliberate judgment that Mr Douglas could not be nominated as a candidate for the presidency. From the consequences that have ensued, I am pained to find that prediction verified. It will be our part to examine the causes which have led to the disastrous results of a divided party and conflicting principles, and to consult together as to what is to be done in the emergency.

What is our duty, as Democrats, animated with love of country, held by fealty to our party, and true to its time honored principles and usages? Let us calmly and dispassionately meet the issue presented to us, not occupying ourselves with unavailing regrets or useless moans at the unhappy state of affairs which call for our action.

Attempt to Overawe Delegates.

The occurrences at the Charleston Convention, I have related to you heretofore, and although that narrative has been published in every part of the Union, in no word or statement has it been successfully contradicted.

Mr PUGH, U. S. Senator from Ohio, in debate, ventured to interrupt Senator BENJAMIN, saying that there was no delegate from Ohio, at Charleston, opposed to Judge Douglas, in contradiction to my assertion that there were delegates so opposed. I am authorised by JUDGE BARTLEY, of Ohio, a delegate, to say that Mr Pugh knew he was opposed to Mr Douglas before they left Charleston.

Mr Pugh's is the only denial of my narrative that has come to my knowledge.

The ill-advised, not to say foolish withdrawal of the delegates from eight states, at Charles-

ton, called for the adjournment at Baltimore. Immediately on that adjournment, the friends of Judge Douglas attempted to organize meetings in all parts of the country, and to call State Conventions, specially in the southern states, and by denunciations; by personal abuse of delegates; by traducing their characters; by impugning their motives of action and threats of popular disfavor, it was endeavored to coerce those who did not approve fully of the nomination of Douglas into his support at Baltimore. Of that kind of persuasion to change his course your delegate received his full share. A missionary was imported here from Minnesota who indulged himself in such political evangel to his heart's content, and was only prevented from the farther spread of the gospel, according to Douglas, by the pursuit of the Sheriff from our city for a just debt which he, in his zeal, had forgotten to pay. In this attempt to coerce votes there was a most signal failure. After six weeks of such canvassing of the country, not a single delegate, to my knowledge, who voted against Douglas at Charleston, but went to Baltimore still more unalterably fixed in his opposition to him.

In the states of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, where State Conventions were called through the regular organization of the party according to Democratic usages, Mr Douglas failed to get a single delegate. Other unauthorized conventions met in some of the Southern states—called without right—held without precedent—attended by small minorities of all grades and sections of the opposition to the regular Democratic party of those states, from which delegates, who were not the choice of the party, were sent to Baltimore, not because they were Democrats, for many of them were not, but because they were Douglas men.

When we met at Baltimore the claims of these men to seats over the regular delegates, who, in all cases where conventions had been held, had been re-accredited to the convention, were submitted to the committee on credentials, from which were excluded eight states; states, too, where a Democratic electoral vote was as sure as any future event.

Bogus Delegates Admitted Favorable to Douglas.

The action of such a committee could not be doubtful—and therefore wherever any plausibility of right could be maintained, the regular delegates were excluded and these representatives of faction were admitted, and when there was not such show of right, half and half of each delegation was admitted; so that the vote of the state should be neutralized. In states where there were no contestants, as in Texas and Mississippi, the regular delegates were admitted by the report of the committee, although these delegates stood upon precisely the same grounds as those delegates who were rejected. No reason was given for the course of action by the report of the majority of the committee, and we are left to conjecture, save that we do know that the programme was arranged in the manner thought most favorable to Douglas, who I happened to know was daily and almost most hourly consulted as to the action of the committee, either personally or by telegraph, while the committee was in session.

Indeed so far was the question, whether a given delegate was for Douglas carried, that in the case of Mr Hallett of our state, and of a delegate from Missouri, who were kept at home by providential domestic sorrow and death, the substitutes in Charleston taking the places of their principals, the committee decided that the delegates could not have their own seats at Baltimore, but that the substitutes should retain them, and this, too, because the substitutes would and the delegates would not vote for Douglas. This report of the committee was adopted by the vote of New York, voting as a unit, and thus chaining 86 of her delegates who were opposed to Douglas.

A Majority of the States Withdraw.

Finding themselves disfranchised and their

brethren deprived of their rights in a Democratic Convention, solely to foster the ambitious schemes of one man, every Southern State, by a majority of her delegates, withdrew from the Convention, together with Oregon and California. The President of the Convention left the chair, and from that time the ramp of the Convention that remained could hardly be said to be an organized body.

It then became sectional, more so than the Convention at Chicago. It had of regular representatives only a minority of the States.—No question could be discussed in it. No one could obtain a hearing unless he would tickle the ear of the majority.

It then became my duty to act as in my judgment, the best interest of the Democratic party and the country required. Calmly and deliberately the decision was made, and I left the remains of a Convention, which, as then constituted, seemed to me capable of adopting any measure—assuming any form, subscribing to any principle, and committing any wrong that would advance the supposed interests of Mr Douglas. It was no longer a National Convention of Democrats, governed by a desire to advance the best interest of the party and the country—it was a camp of the followers of a chieftain seeking his personal aggrandisement. It was no longer a deliberative assembly of statesmen—it was in its majority a mob of Douglas men, and this is a sufficient antithesis!

Massachusetts Withdraws.

Nearly two-thirds of the Massachusetts delegation went out together, and for one, I can here declare that the only regret I have for what was done in that behalf, was the necessity which compelled my action, and I here further declare, that if the same series of events were again to occur, I would again do as I did before.

No man who saw the course of Mr Douglas and his friends as I saw and knew it, and as you will see and know it before I finish speaking, could do otherwise and maintain his self-respect.

Douglas Nominated by Resolution only.

The Douglas men then, after two unsuccessful ballots in attempts to nominate him, according to the usages of the party, and the

rules adopted by their own votes in violation of those usages and very rules, declared fifth by resolution the nominee for the Presidency.

No Democrat Bound by such Nomination.

By that nomination, so made, no man is bound, by the usages or principles of the Democratic party. It is not the nomination of a National Convention. The Convention had become sectional when it was made; it was not a Democratic nomination—it was carried by a violation of State rights in disfranchising Democratic Sovereign States. It was simply a Douglas nomination by the friends of Douglas of Mr Douglas as a Douglas candidate to make Douglas President.

Resolution Against Popular Sovereignty.

After this nomination, a resolution was introduced by Mr Wickliffe, of Louisiana, which endeavored to bind the Democratic party to make such restrictions by the aid of all departments of Government upon popular sovereignty in the Territories as the Supreme Court have decided or may hereafter decide ought to be made.

This was unanimously passed without debate. They then nominated unanimously Governor Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, as candidate for the Vice Presidency, and adjourned.

I have been thus tedious in reviewing the history and giving the main facts of this Convention because I wish all my fellow Democrats to know and feel that they are not bound by these nominations as party men acting from party allegiance.

Whether as Democrats we are bound to vote for them from preference either for the men or the principles, let us now enquire.

Duplicity in the Nomination of Vice President.

As to Mr Fitzpatrick, we cannot vote for him, as he has declined, but he leaves behind him the question, why was he ever nominated?

He was a known opponent of the doctrine of popular sovereignty and non-intervention as explained by Douglas. He had made a speech against Douglas and his doctrines only a fortnight before. He had given no sign of repentance of that speech. Yet again I say he was unanimously nominated by a Douglas

Convention—unanimously I say—when there was not a sober man in the Convention who did not know that he was hostile to every doctrine that Douglas enunciates upon the right of people in the Territories.

Mr Fitzpatrick had repudiated Douglas's construction of the Cincinnati Platform; he had rejected his explanation of the Kansas bill; he was opposed to Douglas on Leecompton; he voted for the Senatorial resolutions; the delegation to Charleston from his State were, by a vote of over 800 to 12, instructed to withdraw from that Convention if Douglas's doctrines were sanctioned by it. Why, then, the nomination? It was made to catch Southern votes by a false pretence that Douglas's doctrines were in accordance with Southern sentiment while his friends were courting the Republicans in the North.

It was made to show that a respectable Southern statesman could be found who would endorse Douglas and be associated with him.

But Mr Fitzpatrick, being a respectable gentleman and honest statesman, having something to lose, refused to run on the ticket, and would have instantly declined, but was prevailed upon to delay until the friends of Douglas in his State could advise with him.

But their advice and persuasion were useless. He could no more be persuaded to run upon that ticket, than I could be denounced into supporting it.

Nomination of Johnson, a Disunionist and Slave Trader.

Who, then, did these Douglas men, with their loud-mouthed cries of hatred of Southern fire-eaters and disunionists; of Southern rights; of Southern dictation; of Southern men and their present love of Republicans and freedom; take for a candidate for the second office in the Government of a great nation? HERSCHEL VIRGIL JOHNSON. Tell me, my friends, how many of you had ever heard of him before his nomination. What services had he ever rendered the Democratic party or his country, to be entitled to this high honor. Tell me of his deeds, good or bad, known to you before that day. You are well read in current political history; there are some of you ardent friends of Judge Douglas; you ought to at least have heard of his second-best friend and the next best man

to be President, if Douglas should be elected and die, two events which I hope and believe are equally in the future. I inquired out Mr Johnson after I heard of his nomination, and I tell you what I learned of him. He is a respectable gentleman of considerable ability; too honest to pretend that he is a statesman. He is a disunionist. Has run as disunion candidate for Governor. He has declared in favor of the opening of the African slave trade. He made a speech in 1856 in Philadelphia, in which he said that "he thought it was the best plan for capital to own its labor." What say you to that, my laboring Douglas friends? He is in favor of Congressional intervention and protection of slave property in the territories, and made a speech for them within a month of the time when he was nominated to run on a ticket with a non-interventionist.

A Two Faced Ticket.

Hurrah for Johnson! he goes for intervention. Hurrah for Douglas! he goes for non-intervention unless the Supreme Court tells him to go the other way. Hurrah for Johnson! he goes against popular sovereignty. Hurrah for Douglas! he goes for popular sovereignty if the Supreme Court will let him! Hurrah for Johnson! he is for disunion! Hurrah for Douglas! he is for the Union, so he declares. Hurrah for Johnson! he is for the South! Hurrah for Douglas! he is for the North, at least he says so now.

The Committee nominated a ticket which is to be all things to all men, so that it may gain some.

But shall we support the nominee of the Convention for President? At a former time I told you why I ought not to vote for Mr Douglas as a candidate for the Presidency; now let me say to you why I will not support him when put in nomination by his friends.

Douglas tries to make himself President in '52.

First, then, in order of time, I find him in 1852 a candidate for the Presidency and forcing his candidature by appealing to the lowest motives, by resorting to a species of attack which had never before been used, at least, among gentlemen of the same party. Mr Cass,

Mr Buchanan and Mr Marcy, were then attacked in a magazine under Douglas's auspices, edited by George Sanders, as "old fogies," and called upon to retire and give way to young America in the person of Mr Douglas, and through personal vituperation, strife and bitterness were engendered in the Democratic party only healed by the fortunate nomination of General Pierce.—Here was Douglas's first attempt to make himself President. It failed. The people make Presidents. When men can make themselves Presidents, then indeed, has the pride and glory of our country faded.

He brings Slavery Agitation in Congress in '54.

When the Democracy had carried that election for President with unequalled unanimity; when all parties had agreed to drop slavery agitation; when between North and South the bonds of Union were knitting stronger and firmer; when the Democratic party were in a majority in Congress from North and South; when the opposition to the successful administration of General Pierce was either silenced or broken in fragments and there was no hindrance to the country in her career of power and greatness, what was it, who was it, that changed all this? Who was it, for his own selfish purposes, that arrayed section against section; fanned into a blaze abolition agitation; "struck down as if by magic," to use the words of his Committee in their late address, "the Democratic party at the North," and armed brother against his brother's life on the plains of Kansas? The answer is the truth of God and History on my lips—Stephen A. Douglas!!!

He Repeals the Missouri Compromise to break down Pierce's Administration.

Grant the Missouri line was unconstitutional as we may all admit. Yet it was a matter of no practical importance at that point of time, and in course of litigation between party and party its constitutionality would have soon been declared by the Supreme Court, and the agitation in Congress in consequence of its disturbance have been saved to the country.

What is the history of this repeal of the Missouri Compromise? Was its repeal the long

thought of, carefully scanned measure of most importance weighed deliberately in the mind of a judicious statesman? Far from it. The truth of its history is this:—After Mr Douglas had from his Committee reported a bill for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska in the usual form of Territorial bills, and after, too, he had advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, a Whig Senator from Kentucky remarked to him in substance, "Why don't you, Douglas, report a bill for the repeal of the Missouri line? Such a measure would be supported by the South and give you the lead of the administration." Douglas at once said "I will do it," and within forty-eight hours this measure of repeal was introduced as an amendment to the Kansas and Nebraska bill, uncalled for by the Southern Democracy, but which they were obliged to support, as it was right in itself and was advocated by its author as a measure in their favor, which would open equally all the territory of the country to the citizens of all the States for emigration with their property. A specious but fallacious argument, because it is utterly impossible from the very nature of slave property itself, that it should compete with the emigration from free States into a part of the country where free labor could be successfully carried on, and where the climate causes a suspension of agricultural labor for any considerable portion of the year. Still the measure was supported substantially by all Southern members of Congress, and was claimed by Douglas to be a boon to the South which he had given them.

He tries again to be President in '56.

For this he was burned in effigy by the Republicans, for this he quarrelled with the 3000 ministers North, for this he claimed the support of the South in the Cincinnati Convention in 1856, on his second attempt to be President by a bid for Southern support.

The Administration of President Pierce having been brought into the support of this measure, and being conducted upon a strictly constitutional basis, commanded the respect of Southern Statesmen, and a growing distrust of Douglas prevented his receiving the votes in that Convention which he coveted, and they were then given to Mr Pierce.

The entire prostration of the Democratic party North, however, because of the evils which flowed from the Kansas bill, as plagues from Pandora's box, made Mr Buchanan a necessity and he was nominated.

His Strength but Sixty-three Votes.

In that Convention the actual strength of Stephen A. Douglas was sixty-three votes, and that number only. It is true that he got more than that number on the ballot when he withdrew, a withdrawal which is now claimed by him as a merit, but which was in fact a trick. It is no new thing for Mr Douglas to have votes thrown for him in a Convention which do not rightfully belong to him.

Douglas' Friends Entrap General Pierce's Friends into Voting for him.

On the evening of the 5th of June of the Cincinnati Convention, mark the date! the friends of Mr Douglas proposed to the friends of General Pierce that Pierce's name should be withdrawn, and the votes of Mr Pierce should be given for Mr Douglas, and that the "Little Giant" would continue the contest with Mr Buchanan until a compromise candidate could be brought forward acceptable to all as in the case of Mr Polk and Mr Pierce himself. In accordance with this understanding, on the morning of the 6th of June, the bulk of the friends of Mr Pierce (Mr Hibbard, of New Hampshire, having withdrawn his name) voted for Douglas, and thus swelled his vote to 122, the prior ballot having been 63 for Douglas and 75 for Pierce.

Douglas Deserts them to gain the Confidence of Buchanan.

Mark what followed! Upon the second ballot of that day being announced, Mr Richardson, of Illinois, produced what purported to be a telegraphic dispatch from Douglas dated June 4th. One day before any ballot for President had been had, withdrawing Douglas' name from the ballot because as the despatch read, "From the telegraphic reports in the newspapers I fear an embittered state of feeling is being engendered." How so, Mr Douglas? Was any feeling shown before the balloting? We had adopted the platform unanimously on that very June 4th. We had settled the New York case to the acquiescence of both wings. How

could the telegraph, which took two days time to bring Douglas' dispatch to Cincinnati, carry the news of the balloting to Washington the same number of days in advance of the fact? Was not the whole matter a ruse to bring in the friends of Mr Pierce to the support of Douglas, so that he might have the merit of withdrawing as the only competing candidate? I thought so then, I know so now, and a comparison of the dates which I have taken from the journal shows the fact. It was another exhibition of Parliamentary tactics, in behalf of Mr Douglas, not of the most honest kind for the purpose of personal advancement.

The election of 1856 came on, and again the Democracy triumphed—and again the Republican party seemed upon the verge of extinction, or at least of perfect subjection to the Democracy.

He Courts the Republicans to carry Illinois.

What new move will our Presidential aspirant make in the game of politics for his advancement? Will he still go South? No. He has now matter nearer home. His senatorial term is about expire as the administration of Mr Buchanan has just commenced its career. Kansas has framed a constitution, and is asking for admission to the Union. Peace will be given to the country and her bleeding wounds will be healed. It is necessary that something should be done to gain strength for himself in Illinois or Mr Douglas will lose his seat in the Senate. It is necessary that something should be done to check the prestige and popularity of the Democratic Administration because if it is a complete success; if nothing thwarts its course, if it gives peace to the country and all is quiet the people may demand the re-election of Mr Buchanan, and the glittering prize will be again removed too high for the short reach of the Little Giant.

To that end he Attacks the Administration.

What will he do to break down this successful Democratic administration? Before the ink of the President's message to Congress was dry, without the usual courtesy of waiting for the printing, Mr Douglas began an attack upon the President and his policy, because it was too much in favor of the South. So the wind has now changed North! The Illinois election is

coming on! What was the ostensible ground of the attack? It was that the President had recommended the admission of Kansas under such a constitution as her delegates had seen fit to adopt and send to Congress for her admission as a State.

In so doing he calls for Congressional Intervention in the affairs of Kansas.

Now, whether we agree to that Kansas constitution or not, and for one I did not, what was it the duty of the Little Giant of the great principle of "Squatter Sovereignty" to do with it? Why, simply to let it alone. It was the act of the people of Kansas, or, if it is claimed that it was forced upon them by fraud, still it was a fraud for their correction only. Congress had nothing to do with it, upon the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. Yet, Mr Douglas claimed that Congress should intervene and override the organized action of the people of Kansas, and thus determine what was best to be done for them. If the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, the right of the people to manage their own affairs in their own way, means anything, it ought to have been applied then, if ever.

But, Mr Douglas upon this question joined hands with the Republicans and opposed the Democratic Administration, which desired to give peace to the country by the measure. If any Douglas man says the Democracy and Mr Buchanan were not right upon the Lecompton question, allow me, instead of giving my own opinion to read to you a part of a letter from an ardent Douglas advocate here, in Lowell, being the only one who took the trouble to go down to Boston and speak for Douglas at the Revere House, the other night. Here is the letter—

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20, 1858.

"HON. A. V. BROWN—Dear Sir:—As we were today speaking upon the subject of Kansas and its immediate admission as a State into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, as made by the people of Kansas, through their legally constituted servants, in the exercise of their sovereignty guaranteed to the people by the Constitution and laws of the United States, I desire to say to you further, and I take this way to do so—that the only way in my opinion

to give peace to the country and justice to Kansas, is to admit her into the Union immediately, with the present Leecompton Constitution, upon the well taken ground of President Buchanan, set forth so nobly in his special message upon that subject to Congress, every line of which I fully endorse." * * *

* * * Signed, EDWIN A. ALGER.

He aids the Republicans and seeks aid from them.

Upon this measure I have said Mr Douglas went with the Republicans, nay more, he went farther, courted their support in the Illinois election, and the Republicans of that State found fault with their brethren of other States in that contest that they gave so much support and sympathy to Douglas. Still farther, will any man, who knows anything about the facts, deny that a scheme was broached and discussed as to the policy of making Douglas an opposition leader and all the elements of opposition rallying under him. I call as a witness upon this a distinguished Senator of Massachusetts, to say whether at the time of the opposition of the Leecompton Constitution, Mr Douglas did not say in reference to his action with the Republicans, "I have ticketed my baggage clear through." If the Republicans would have received him, in my judgment Douglas would have gone with them, but his hopes were rather damped when he asked a sturdy old Senator what the Republicans thought of him [Douglas] "Why," was the tart reply, "we look upon you as a pirate, who has put into our port in a stress of weather, and as soon as it is calm again, and you are refitted, you will be out preying upon us as before."

Have not his friends aided the Republicans in electing a Speaker and Clerk of the House of Representatives? Is not that same Clerk—Mr Forney—now his most available supporter in Pennsylvania? Does not he, a Republican, Clerk of a Republican House, through the columns of the "Press," dictate to the friends of Douglas in that State?

Does not Mr Burlingame say that he hails every Douglas flag as an ally to the Republican party? That Douglas has come over half way to the Republicans, and he expects him

the whole way? In fine, does not Douglas himself say, in effect, in a recent speech, that he stands half way between the Democratic and Republican parties?

Indeed, he does stand there, like the Angel, the precursor of the seven plagues, told of in the Book of Revelation, "one foot on sea and one on solid land," holding out a little book of doctrine which, in the mouth, is the sweet honey of popular sovereignty, and in the belly, the bitter doctrines of Republicanism.

The Duty of Democrats.

To us, fellow Democrats, there is no half way. We are either Republicans or Democrats, if we act from principle. If we follow the fortunes of Douglas, we simply attach ourselves to a chief who, for twelve years, has labored simply for his own success, regardless of the good of his party, the triumph of his principles or the peace and welfare of his country. From the facts I have shown you, therefore, I could not, I cannot, I will not support his pretensions to the Presidency, which are sustained wholly by selfishness.

Breckinridge and Lane the True Representatives of Democracy.

What, then, shall we do? After the disorganization of the Democratic Convention, an almost unanimous majority of the delegates of the Democratic States met together and have recommended the names of BRECKINRIDGE and LANE as your candidates in the present canvass. To neither of them can any point and say that they ever did an undemocratic act, or swerved from a Democratic principle.

Soldiers both, they offered their lives in the cause of their country in Mexico, while the Senator from Illinois was enjoying popular favor and office, and intriguing for the Presidency at his ease at home.

The Charge of being Disunionists Answered.

Breckinridge has already filled the second office in the Nation with entire satisfaction to the whole people; is not that a guarantee that he is fit for the first? In all the strife; in all the investigations of the Republicans; in all the committees of enquiry or of accusation, what word of suspicion, even, has been breath-

ed upon the principles or acts of Breckinridge. Since his nomination, but never before, he has been called a Disunionist. In a speech but a day or two since at Frankfort, in the presence of his life long friends and political opponents, who could have gainsayed the declaration, if it were not true, he proudly said:—"I am an American and a Kentuckian, who never did an act or cherished a thought that was not full of devotion to the Constitution and the Union." Proud words, proudly spoken, and incapable of contradiction.

Southern Supporters of Douglas for Disunion and the African Slave Trade.

Yet we, who support this gallant and conservative leader, are called disunionists, and charged with being untrue to democracy. By whom is this charge made? by Pierre Soule, an avowed disunionist, in Louisiana; by John Forsyth and the "Atlanta Confederacy," in Georgia, which maintains the duty of the South to leave the Union if Lincoln is elected; and yet these same men are the foremost of the Southern supporters of Douglas; by Gauding, of Georgia, who is now stamping the State for Douglas, making the same speech that he made in the Convention at Baltimore, where he argued that nonintervention meant that Congress had no power to prevent the exportation of negroes from Africa, and that the Slave trade was the true popular sovereignty in full expansion.

Would you believe it, fellow citizens, that this speech was applauded in the Douglas convention, and that too by a delegate from Massachusetts, aye, and from Middlesex County.

When I left that convention, I declared that I would no longer sit where the African slave trade, made piracy and felony by the laws of my country, was openly advocated and applauded. Yet such, at the South, are the supporters of Douglas.

His Northern Supporters are Abolitionists and Disappointed Office Seekers.

Let us look at the political record of one or two, at the North, in our immediate neighborhood. I mean to say nothing of their personal characters or social position. These I treat with all respect, but with the political ac-

tion of those who organize their followers* to break up our democratic meetings, and to read me out of the democratic party, I have something to do, and I propose to ask you as to their democracy.

I have already shown you that E. A. Alger, Esq., has written a letter "endorsing every line" of Mr. Buchanan's Lecompton policy, when he was an applicant for the Lowell Post Office, and is now going to Boston to make speeches for Douglas at the Revere House, as well as being a prime mover in the disturbances, the other night, in this Hall.

They take Oaths in a Secret League in a darkened room.

But what say you to this for democracy? Suppose a partially lighted upper chamber, around which certain gentlemen are sitting, in in solemn conclave; at one end is a raised dais, upon which sits the president, dressed in funereal black. Three slowly measured knocks are heard from without, answered by a like number within. A challenge is heard, and a sign is made, a pass word is given, and a hood-winked gentleman is led in, and thus addressed:

PRESIDENT:—My Friend:—As an additional guarantee of your good faith, we desire your assent to an agreement which we have all taken, and intend faithfully to maintain. You will therefore place your right hand on your left breast, and repeat after me this agreement. Where I pronounce my name, you will pronounce yours, all speaking together, and distinctly:—

The Oath and Obligation.

ACQUAINTANCE.—I, [Alpheus R. Brown,] in the presence of these witnesses, without hesitation or mental reservation, do solemnly pledge MYSELF AND MY NAME AS A MAN that I will not make known to any person or persons, any of the passwords, signs, secrets, mysteries, or objects of this organization, unless it be to those whom I shall know to be members of the same in good standing; that I will not communicate, by word, sign, or device, or in any way, directly or indirectly, any of the secrets or objects of the organization, to those not in good standing with it, nor suffer it to be improperly done by others.

* Referring to those who came into a former meeting and by yells and noises disturbed and broke it up.

if in my power to prevent it; that, so long as I am connected with the organization, I will in all things comply with the will of the majority, properly expressed, though it may conflict with my personal preference, so long as it does not conflict with the duty I owe my country, or the laws of the country under which I live; and that I will not knowingly recommend an unworthy person for membership. I furthermore promise and agree that I will give my unrestrained influence, by word, act, and ballot, for the promotion of FREEDOM, TEMPERANCE, and PROTESTANTISM, without regard to party predilections, race, complexion, or condition in life; *that I will not, directly or indirectly, countenance the further extension of slavery*; and that, for the greater success of these purposes, I will not, under any circumstances, improperly expose the name of any member of this organization or reveal the existence of the same. To the foregoing, I pledge myself under no less penalty than of being expelled from the organization, and of having my name circulated throughout the different Leagues of the same, as one recreant to his word of honor and the best interests of the human race. And this is my agreement.—Brethren altogether solemnly ejaculate; and this is our agreement!

Can a gentleman who has taken this oath be a democrat? at least until he has made a public repentation and abjuration thereof? which Mr Brown never has done. Is such a man fit to take part in a democratic meeting? to read democrats out of the party? He is no democrat, and between us there is an impassable gulf.

At the conclusion of his speech, and frequently during its progress, General Butler was enthusiastically applauded.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, Jas. C. Abbott, Esq., being loudly called for, made a brief speech, wherein he demonstrated that the leaders of the Douglas faction were only Republicans in disguise, and were laboring for the success of Lincoln. His remarks were received with much applause.

The question on the Resolutions was then put, and they were unanimously adopted.

Let him go to the Republicans, where his principles will take him, and we will wish them joy of him. But such is a leading Douglas man here in Massachusetts. But let not the Republicans blame themselves too much on their acquisition, because after acting with the Secret League for months, a Democratic convention being about to be held, for the nomination of County officers, Mr Brown, by letter resigned his place in this league, made a speech complimentary to its action on Tuesday evening and on Wednesday morning was a candidate for County Treasurer in the Democratic Convention. We knew not of his secret oaths and associations. I learned the fact a few weeks ago, and have stated all this in Mr Brown's presence in the City Committee, and he did not pretend to deny it, or any part of it.

I commend the temperance part of his oath to the Whig rum-sellers, who are now acting with him in the Douglas faction. I commend the anti-slavery part to Southern Douglas disunionists and the slave trader Gauding. I commend the Protestant part to those Catholic Irishmen, who, with Mr Brown, claimed to vote me out of the Democratic Party the other night. There is in it food for reflection to all.

The waning hour and my failing strength, in this excessive heat, bring these remarks to an end. I had intended to analyze the Douglas platform, and the platform of the true democracy, and show the accordance of the last with time honored democratic principles, and the duplicity of the first—but at a future day I will meet you, and do myself the honor of fully discussing these questions.

(2)

New-Yorker Demokrat. — Flugblatt N. 8.

Die Anklage-Acte gegen Stephen A. Douglas

A c t e

Carl Schurz,

Gehalten im Cooper-Institute zu New-York am 13. September 1860.

Mitbürger! Diese Versammlung ist berufen, um die Nominationen Ihrer Staatsconvention zu genehmigen. Als ein Fremdling unter Ihnen, habe ich kein unmittelbares Interesse an den Angelegenheiten Ihres Staates; aber ich kann Ihnen gleichwohl sagen, daß die Bürger meines Staates Ihre Nominationen so herzlich gutheißten, als Sie selbst. (Beifall.) In der Nomination von Morgan und Campbell erkennen sie die Bürgerschaft eines glorreichen Siegs im November. (Beifall.) Sie erwarten von mir nicht, daß ich über Staatsangelegenheiten spreche; ich will also sogleich an die Nationalangelegenheiten gehen. Vielleicht nehme ich zuviel Gehalt von Ihnen in Anspruch; ich hoffe aber, Sie werden das verzeihen. (Beifall.)

Eine Stimme: Wir können drei Stunden anhalten. (Gelächter.)

In einem Kampfe großer Grundsätze, wie der jetzt im Lande herrschende, bespreche ich nicht gern die persönlichen Eigenschaften der Candidaten; wenn aber die besonderen Verdienste eines Mannes als sein Hauptanspruch auf die höchste und verantwortlichste Stelle in der Republik geltend gemacht werden, so kann man nicht anders erwarten, als daß wir seine Geschichte und seinen Charakter mit ungewöhnlicher Sorgfalt untersuchen.

Wie allbekannt beanspruchen die Freunde des Richters Douglas in den nördlichen Staaten die Stimmen des Volks auf den Grund hin, daß er für die Freiheit der Gebiete mehr gethan, und daß er als ein besserer Vorkämpfer der freien Arbeit und außerdem als ein größerer Staatsmann denn jeder lebende sich erwiesen habe. So zwingt man uns einen Streit um Personen auf, und wir sind natürlich bereit, darauf einzugehen. Damit werde ich mich heute beschäftigen. Ich werde die Schranken der Gütlichkeit nicht überschreiten, aber ich werde die Dinge bei ihrem rechten Namen nennen. Was berechtigt denn Richter Douglas zu der klagen vollen Benennung eines „Vorkämpfers der Freiheit“, oder des „größten lebenden Staatsmannes“? Seine Vergangenheit oder seine Gegenwart? Man kann die Geschichte dieses „Vorkämpfers der Freiheit“ auf einen

Nick überschauen. Er hat seine Anti-Sklaverei Vergangenheit — welcher nördliche Sklavereivertheidiger hat keine? Aber es gibt kaum einen hervorragenden Mann im Staatsleben, der sich so viel Mühe gegeben, für seine früheren Freistaatsgesinnungen Abbitte zu thun. Wir können also diesen Gegenstand fallen lassen. Anderes ist lehrreicher.

Der Missouri-Vertrag von 1820 war als ein geheiligtes Uebereinkommen zwischen beiden großen Hälften der Union hingestellt worden. Durch diesen Vertrag wurden Missouri und Arkansas als Sklavenstaaten zugelassen, und damit zahlte der freie Norden als der eine Theil seinen Preis für das Sklavereiverbot nördlich vom 36. Grad 30 Minuten. Hat man je geahnt, daß Dr. Douglas einen Zweifel über die Verfassungsmäßigkeit des Missouri-Vertrags geäußert hat, so lange derselbe die Anzahl der Sklavenstaaten vermehren half? Damals war es ihm ein „heiliger und unverletzlicher Vertrag“ — so heilig und unverlethlich wie die Verfassung selber, und er versuchte die „ruchlose Hand“, die ihn aufzulösen suchen würde. Als nach dem mexikanischen Kriege die an die Union angeschlossenen Gebiete organisiert werden sollten, war er unter den Ersten, welche die Ausdehnung der Missouri-Linie über das ganze Festland befürworteten. Was wäre das Ergebnis dieser Maßregel gewesen? In den von Mexiko erworbenen Landen war die Sklaverei abgeschafft und durch örtliche Gesetze verboten; aber die Ausdehnung der Missouri-Linie sollte die Sklaverei in allen Gebieten südlich von 36 Grad 30 Minuten zulassen. Bemerken Sie wohl! So lange der Missouri-Vertrag dazu diente, Sklavenstaaten zu gründen, träumte Douglas nicht davon, daß dieser verfassungswidrig sei.

Sobald durch die Ausdehnung der Missouri-Linie freies Gebiet in Sklavengebiet verwandelt werden konnte, fand er ihn so außerordentlich zweckmäßig und passend, daß er ihn nicht nur in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt bewahren, sondern ihn über das Festland bis zur Küste des Stillen Meeres zu erstrecken vorschlug.

Aber jetzt kommt die Zeit, daß freie Staaten unter der Gewähr desselben Missouri-Vertrags emporwachsen

sollen. Dem Richter Douglas geht plötzlich ein neues Licht auf. Er erhebt sich im Senate und behauptet, daß das Gebiet nördlich von der Missouri-Linie nicht länger der Sklaverei vorenthalten werden könne, weil der Ausschluß der Sklaverei daraus — gerade die Bedeutung, unter welcher Missouri als Sklavensaat zugelassen worden war — den Hauptanlässen der Verfassung widerstreite. Derselbe Mann, der die Hand als ruchlos verfluchte, welche den Verwertungsvertrag legen würde, so lange als er der Sklaverei zum Vorteil gereichte, zerriß ihn mit eigener Hand, sobald er der freien Arbeit zu Gute kommen sollte. Und dieser ist der heftigste Vorkämpfer der Freiheit? Welche wunderbare Veränderung! Zur Zeit, als er die Ausdehnung der Missouri-Linie bis zum Stillen Meer vorzuschlagen, war er entweder von der Verfassungswidrigkeit des Vertrags überzeugt, oder er war es nicht. Wenn er's war, wie konnte er mit gutem Gewissen die Ausdehnung und Peremung einer Maßregel vorschlagen, die er für ein Verbrechen gegen die Verfassung hielt? Wurden sein Gewissen und seine Überzeugungen durch die Interessen der Sklaverei beschwächt? Oder wenn er's nicht war, wie konnte er so plötzlich sich überzeugen von dieser Verfassungswidrigkeit gerade in dem Augenblicke, wo die Verwahrung und Ausführung der Maßregel die Interessen der freien Arbeit befördert haben würde? Wie kommt's, daß seine Überzeugungen in ihren raschen und wunderbaren Wandlungen, immer so bewundernswürdig mit den Interessen der Sklaverei übereinstimmen? Das Zusammenreffen ist erstaunlich und ich überlasse es Ihnen, Ihre Schlüsse zu ziehen.

Aber Hr. Douglas ist dennoch der „beste Vorkämpfer der freien Arbeit“; denn man behauptet, daß die Nebraska-Bill — eben die Maßregel, welche die Grenzen der Sklaverei niederbricht — gerade dadurch die freie Arbeit in die Gebiete einführt. Die Sache wird sehr bald auf die Probe gestellt. Kaum ist die Nebraska-Bill erlassen und das Missouri-Verbot beseitigt, so werden Auswanderergesellschaften in den Sklavensstaaten gegründet, besonders in Missouri, um Sklaverei in Kansas einzuführen. Die Geschichte der Plänen liegt Ihnen bekannt. Gefesselte Banden bewaffneter Eindringlinge strömen nach Kansas, nehmen die Stimmwähler in Beschlag mit Bowie-Messern und Messern in Händen, und beherrschen die Wahlen durch Betrug und Gewalt. Hat Hr. Douglas je ein Wort des Vorwurfs oder der Verdammung gegen die Grenzströme von Missouri fallen lassen? Hat er nicht ihre Verbrechen höchst zärtlich auf den Grund der Selbstverteidigung entschuldigt, während es doch eine allbekannte Tatsache ist, daß ihre Organisation der der Freistaatleute voranging? Und bemerken Sie wohl — diese Einwanderung war zu Gunsten der Sklaverei.

Es werden andere Auswanderer-Gesellschaften in den nördlichen Staaten errichtet. Große Haufen von Männern gehen nach Kansas, bewaffnet, aber zur Nothwehr, weil es jeder Pioneer sein muß, aber mit der ehrlichen Absicht, den Boden zu besiedeln als bleibende Einwohner; und während niedergebrannte Häuser und Blutspuren den Weg der Grenzströme bezeichnen, entstehen blühende Farmen und gewerbliche Städte unter den Händen der Freistaatleute. Erinnern Sie sich, wie oft Richter Douglas die Giftflasken seiner Wuth zur Besetzung der Häupter der Freistaats-

Einwanderung öffnete? Bemerken Sie wohl, diese Einwanderung war der Sklaverei feindlich.

Eine Gesetzgebung wird von einer Bande gefesselter Eindringlinge — meistens Missourier — unter den frevelhaftesten Verletzungen der Stimmfreiheit und allen Regeln verfassungsmäßiger Regierung zum Trotz errichtet; diese Gesetzgebung nimmt das Slaven-Gesetz von Missouri an als Gesetz von Kansas, und fügt Gesetze hinzu, so unangehörig in ihrem Wesen, daß sogar nördliche Demokraten unter der Schmach schrien.

Erinnern Sie sich, daß Richter Douglas jene Gesetzgebung, obgleich ihr verbrecherischer Ursprung allseits bekannt war, als höchste gesetzgebende Behörde des Gebiets, und ihre Gesetze, obwohl offenkundige Kinder des Betrugs und der Gewalt, als gültige Gesetze von Kansas anerkannte? Erinnern Sie sich, wie er Jeden als Rebellen und Verräther verdammt, der sich ihnen nicht fügen wollte? Bemerken Sie wohl — diese Gesetzgebung und Gesetze waren zu Gunsten der Sklaverei. Die Freistaats-Anseher von Kansas, damals eine große Mehrheit der Bewohner, gehen an die Aufstellung einer Verfassung, welche kaum auf unregelmäßiger Weise zustande kam, als die Verfassungen vieler Staaten. Sie ward der Volksabstimmung unterbreitet, und von einer großen Mehrheit angenommen, und so dem Congreß vorgelegt. Erinnern Sie sich, daß Richter Douglas seine Schlimpsworte gemein genug finden konnte gegen diese Verfassung, und daß er ihre Urheber als bläugenswürdigste Verräther bezeichnete? Bemerken Sie wohl, diese Verfassung, die Wahl des Volks von Kansas, war gegen die Sklaverei.

Welche Reihe wunderbar zusammenstossender Umstände. Bis daher verfehlte Richter Douglas nie, Alles zu billigen, was der Sklaverei in Kansas zugute kam, und zu verurtheilen, was der freien Arbeit dienen konnte. Freilich brachte er andere Gründe für seine Handlungsweise vor, als die Interessen der Sklaverei. Natürlich. Ist es so erklärlich, daß ein gelehrter Mann, der sich zu einer niedrigen Simulna betäubt, sich genug hat, dieselben zu beschönigen? Vergleichen Sie seine Scheinbarkeiten mit jenen Umständen, und Sie werden mit mir zu dem Schlusse kommen, daß dieser „Kämpfer der freien Arbeit“, wenn er wirklich ein Feind der Sklaverei war, seine Feinde weit mehr liebte, als ein Christ soll.

Aber wir wollen gerecht gegen ihn sein. Wir langen jetzt bei einem Abschnitt seiner Geschichte an, worin er seinen Anspruch auf die Achtung seiner Mitbürger erworben zu haben scheint. Wir sind zu wenig gewohnt, derart Staatsleute etwas Geredes thun zu sehen, daß wir aus lauter Ueberrassigung zu dinsten werden. Ich wende auf Douglas' Stellung im Kansas um die Compromiß-Verfassung an. Eine mit Betrug gewählte Convention hat eine Verfassung entworfen, die Kansas zur Sklaverei verdammt, und wagt sich sie dem Volke zur Abstimmung vorzuliegen. Der Präsident betreibt in einer Vorrede die Aufnahme von Kansas als Staat unter dieser Verfassung, so wie jetzt. Richter Douglas widerlegt sich mit den Republikanern der Maßregel — nicht weil er der Sklaverei feind ist; denn er erklärt förmlich und nachdrücklich, es sei ihm einerlei, ob „die Sklaverei hinauf oder hinunter gestimmt werde“; sondern weil es ungewiß sei, ob die Compromiß-Verfassung den Volkswillen vertritt. Die Sla-

vermacht stellt sich ihm feindselig gegenüber, und zum ersten Male in seinem Leben erhebt sich sein Anspruch auf den Namen eines „Kämpfers der Freiheit“. Aber die lächerliche Abgeschnittenheit. Ich möchte ihm gern die Achtung so wenig als möglich entziehen, die er sich bei dieser Gelegenheit erworb, wären nur die vorübergegangenen und nachfolgenden Thatfachen nicht geeignet, uns die Augen über die Verkettung von Umständen zu öffnen, welche es ihm fast unmöglich machte anders zu handeln.

Und hier gewahren wir abermals eine Reihe auffallender Umstände. Gerade zu der Zeit, wo die Leocompton Frage dem Congress vorlag, näherte sich auch zufällig Douglas' Termin als Senator seinem Ende. Er wußte sehr wohl, daß seine Popularität dabei auf der allgemeinen Annahme beruhte, daß er wirklich für die Sache der freien Arbeit wirkte. Wie blind hätte der Mann sein müssen, hätte er nicht eingesehen, daß es ihm, mit der Leocompton Konstitution beladen, unmöglich sein würde, diese Fäusung noch länger durchzuführen. So nahm er denn die Maste eines Advokaten der Volkssache an, coquettierte mit den Republikanern, um deren Opposition zu entwaschen, und trat vor das Volk von Illinois als Candidat zur Wiedererwählung in den Senat. Was für ein Recht habe ich, zu behaupten, daß er eine Maste annahm? Ich habe dies Recht, wenn ich beweisen kann, daß er sie anwarf, sobald er seinen Zweck erreicht hatte.

Man betrachte die Thatfachen in Verbindung mit dem Kampfe in Kansas. Sklaverei und freie Arbeit hatten sich seit Jahren in jenem unglücklichen Territorium mit zweifelhaftem Erfolge bekämpft. Jetzt endlich konnte kein vernünftiger Mensch mehr seine Augen vor der Thatfache verschließen, daß damals, als das Leocompton Verbrechen begangen wurde, die Freistaatsmänner zu ihren Gegnern im Verhältniß wie zehn zu eins standen. Ihr Sieg mochte verzögert werden, aber er war nicht länger zweifelhaft. Wie hatte Douglas gehandelt, so lange eine Aussicht da war, daß die Sklaverei das Uebergewicht erlangen könnte? Ist es nöthig, daß ich Sie an die unermüdlichen Anstrengungen zur Vertbeidigung der Grenzstroiche erinnere; an die Mühe, mit welcher er die Einwanderung aus den freien Staaten verfolgte; an die Verdienste, mit der er das Gesetzbuch der Grenzstroiche unterstüzte; an die Entschiedenheit, mit der er seinen Fuß auf das Gesetz des Volkes, wie es in der Freistaats-Constitution ausgesprochen war, setzte; an seine rohe und gemeine Verhöhnung der Schmerzen eines unglücklichen Volkes? War die Erwählung der Legislatur der Grenzstroiche, und die Anerkennung des Gesetzbuchs der Grenzstroiche eine geringere Verletzung der Volksrechte als die Leocompton Konstitution? Wie konnte er die ersten unterstützen und dabei sich zugleich ein Verdienst aus der Opposition gegen die letzteren machen? Hier ist abermals ein wunderbares Zusammentreffen. Gerade so laue, wie die Sklaverei in Kansas Ausichten hatte, stand Douglas auf der Seite der Sklaverei. Kaum aber war der Sieg der Freiheit entschieden, als Douglas sich entschied, sich auf die stärkere Seite zu stellen.

Und nun wird er unserer Bewunderung als der „wahre Kämpfer der Freiheit“ empfohlen. Nachdem er mehr als fünfzig irgend jemand zur Ausführung des Verbrechens gethan hat, welches Verbrechen liegt dann darin, daß er dessen schließliche Vollendung hintertrei-

ben hilft, nachdem es offenbar geworden ist, daß jene Vollendung trotz ihm ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit ist?

Beachten Sie dies. Die Nebraska Bill hatte das Gebäude der Territorial-Freiheit in Flammen gesetzt. Die republikanischen Feuer-Compagnieen arbeiten mit aller Macht, die republikanischen Spritzen sind in voller Thätigkeit, um das Feuer mit der Brandstifter selbst, Mr. Douglas, mit einem Heelsfel von Anti-Leocompton-Wasser, gießt es in's Feuer, bläst sich auf, röhmt sich, daß er die Feuerbrunst gelöscht habe, und tritt so vor das Volk von Illinois als der „wahre Vorkämpfer der Freiheit.“

Und schwerlich würde er auch hiezu den Muth gehabt haben, wenn nicht, wie es uns allen jetzt bekannt ist, das zürnende Drohen des tapferen Procerd ihm zurückgeschreckt hätte, als er im Begriff stand, mit Buchanan zu unterhandeln.

Ich wiederhole es; ich würde nie die Motive, von denen er in der Leocompton-Angelegenheit geleitet wurde, einer Untersuchung unterworfen haben, wenn nicht die vorausgehenden Handlungen seine Ehrlichkeit in Zweifel gestellt, und wenn nicht die nachfolgenden allen Glauben an die Aufrichtigkeit seiner Behauptung vernichtet hätten. Wenn er so ehrlich ist, so werden Sie zugeben müssen, daß es gewaltig schwer hält, es ihm zu beweisen.

Mit Hilfe dieser Geldenthat gelang es ihm, seinen Zweck in Illinois zu erreichen; freilich nicht durch die Stimme des Volkes, denn die war gegen ihn, sondern durch eine veraltete Eintheilung der Wahlbezirke. Es war einer jener traurigen Siege, welche in einer kranken Rettung vor gänzlicher Vernichtung bestehen. Doch er hat seinen Sitz wiedererlangt, und jetzt wirft er seine verlangenden Blicke nach einem noch höheren Siege, und da fällt es ihm plötzlich ein, daß der demokratische Weg zum weißen Hause durch die Sklavenstaaten führt. So richtet er denn seine Blicke unverzüglich gegen Süden, und macht sich auf die Reise den Mississippi hinunter. Da wird er denn hie und da gestöhnt, an „zufällige“ Versammlungen ein paar Worte zu richten. Plötzlich stuben wir den Mann, der dem Volke von Illinois vorzuspiegeln gesucht hatte, daß unter der Kansas- und Nebraska-Bill das Volk das Recht hätte, die Sklaven auszuschießen, sich im Süden dafür entschuldigen; und nun beobachtet man, wie der alte Douglas wiederum die Waffe der Sophistik mit schamloser Frechheit schwingt, um dem südlischen Magen die Lehre von der Volkssouveränität genießbar zu machen.

Die Entwicklung der Volkssouveränitätslehre ist eines der belehrendsten Kapitel in der Geschichte unserer Zeit. Sie zeigt, wie leicht es ist, die öffentliche Meinung durch sophistische Darstellung irre zu führen, und wie leicht richtige Grundsätze in dem verworrenen Kampfe von Interessen und ehrgeizigen Bestrebungen aus dem Gesicht verloren werden. Künftige Geschlechter werden mit ungetrübter Verwunderung die Geschichte unserer Tage rubiren und kaum beargen, wie ein so offener Betrug eine Zeitlang Glück haben konnte. Gestatten Sie mir hier eine kurze Abschweifung.

Volkssouveränität im wahren Sinne des Wortes bedeutet die Souveränität aller Einzelnen, welche durch das Gesetz so geregelt ist, daß die Rechte mit

Freiheiten jedes Einzelnen gegen die Uebergriiffe eines andern geschützt sind, und welche durch politische Einrichtungen so organisiert ist, daß der Wille Aller einen gemeinsamen Ausdruck findet. Ihre natürliche Grundlage ist die Gleichheit der Rechte aller Menschen. Ihr natürlicher Zweck ist der Schutz aller Individuen bei der Ausübung ihrer Rechte und dem Genuß ihrer Freiheiten, daher schließt sie die Idee der Sklaverei in jeglicher Gestalt aus. Man gebe dieß, wahre Volks-Souveränität den Territorien, und wir sind bereit sie anzunehmen, — ja sie ist es gerade, für welche wir kämpfen. Aber ist dies etwa das, was Douglas in seiner Nebraskabill beabsichtigte? Keineswegs. Seine Volksouveränität beruht auf der Annahme, daß eine Klasse von Menschen die Macht und das Recht hat, eine andere ihrer natürlichen Rechte zu berauben, und sie als Sklaven zu halten.

Der Beweisführung wegen wollen wir seinem Gedankengange folgen, und annehmen, daß die weiße Bevölkerung der Territorien das Recht habe, einen Theil der Bewohner als Eigentum zu behandeln.

Damit sind wir von der Höhe der wahren Volks-Souveränität um eine Stufe herabgesunken! Betrachten wir nun den Wortlaut der Kansas- und Nebraska-Bill:

„Es ist die wahre Absicht und Meinung dieses Gesetzes, weder die Sklaverei durch Gesetze in irgend einen Staat oder ein Territorium einzuführen, noch davon auszuscheiden, sondern es dem Volke desselben vollständig freizustellen, seine Einrichtungen nach seiner eigenen Weise zu formen und zu reguliren, unterworfen allein der Constitution der Ver. Staaten.“

Zunächst sollte man meinen, daß dies Gesetz dem Volke der Territorien das souveräne Recht einräumte, die Sklaverei einzuführen, vorausgesetzt natürlich, daß die Sklaverei nur mit Hilfe eines positiven Gesetzes der Territorial-Legislatur eingeführt werden könnte. Ist dies der Grundsatz von Mr. Douglas' Volksouveränität? Keineswegs. Denn seiner Ansicht nach kann ein Sklavenhalter sein Sklaveneigentum, und damit die Sklaven in ein Territorium einführen, ohne jenes positive Gesetz der Territorial-Legislatur.

Wir haben daher von der Höhe der Volksouveränität noch eine Stufe herunter zu steigen. Man sollte nun meinen, daß, nachdem die Sklaverei auf diese Weise einmal eingeführt ist, das Volk des Territoriums wenigstens das souveräne Recht haben würde, sie durch ein positives Gesetz der Territorial-Legislatur zu beseitigen und auszuschließen. Ist dies der Grundsatz von Mr. Douglas' Volksouveränität? Keineswegs! Er sagte erst, daß das Obergericht diese Frage zu entscheiden hätte, dann erklärte er, daß die Souveränität eines Territoriums aufgehoben bleibe, bis es als Staat in die Union aufgenommen sei, und schließlich ließ er nach dem Wahlkampfe in Illinois den Ausdruck „die Sklaverei auszuschließen“ gänzlich fallen. Es ist bedenklich, daß die Versuche des Volkes von Kansas und Nebraska, die Sklaverei gesetzlich auszuschließen, sofort durch die Veto's der Gouverneure dieser Territorien vereitelt wurden, Veto's, welche kraft der durch Douglas' eigene Nebraskabill den Territorial-Regierungen übertragenen Gewalt ausgesprochen wurden.

Somit wären wir denn zwei bedeutende Stufen von der Volksouveränität herabgesunken, ohne das große Prinzip des Richters Douglas erreicht zu haben, und doch ist die wahre Volksouveränität schon längst unsern

Blickten entschwunden. Stehen wir denn noch eine Stufe hinunter, und wir mögen hoffen, daß, je tiefer wir sinken, wir uns um so mehr der Stellung von Douglas nähern werden. Wir finden ihn zuletzt nicht bei einem Grundsatze, sondern bei einer Annahme. In seiner Rede, die er im August 1858 in Freeport hielt, sagte er:

„Es kommt nicht darauf an, wie das Obergericht später über die abstrakte Frage entscheiden mag, ob die Sklaverei der Constitution gemäß in ein Territorium eingeführt werden dürfe oder nicht; das Volk besitzt die gesetzlichen Mittel, sie nach Belieben einzuführen oder auszuschließen; denn die Sklaverei kann nirgendwo einen Tag oder eine Stunde bestehen, wenn sie nicht durch lokale Polizeigesetze unterstügt ist. Diese Polizeigesetze können nur durch die lokale Gesetzgebung erlassen werden, und wenn das Volk der Sklaverei abgeneigt ist, so wird es solche Repräsentanten erwählen, welche die Einführung derselben durch unfreundliche Gesetzgebung verhindern.“

Dies also ist der große Grundvath der Volksouveränität. Sie hezweckt nicht die Ausübung und den Genuß gleicher Rechte, nicht daß die Sklaverei nur dann in die Territorien eingeführt werden dürfe, wenn das Volk es gesetzlich gestattet; nicht, daß das Volk das souveräne Recht hat, sie durch ein direktes Gesetz der Territorialgesetzgebung auszuschließen, sondern daß sie den Sklavenhalter diskantiren und ärgern mögen, um auf diese Art, wenn es geht, die Sklaverei aus dem Territorium hinauszuhubeln. Wenn Jemand das vor zehn Jahren „Volksouveränität“ genannt hätte, so würde man erstlich an seinem Verstande gezweifelt haben. Ist das nicht wirklich jene Art von Volksouveränität, von welcher Lincoln so treffend sagt: „sie sei so dünn wie die homöopathische Suppe, gekostet aus dem Schatzen einer verhungerten Laube.“ Man sollte es für unmöglich halten, sie noch dünner zu machen; aber Mr. Douglas bekommt es fertig. Nachdem er den Wählern von Illinois vorgepöbelt hat, daß nach seiner Theorie das Volk des Territoriums sich der Sklaverei, wenn auch auf Umwegen, entleiben kann, geht dieser „wahre Vorkämpfer der Freiheit“ nach dem Süden, und beweist dort, daß die Sklaverei in den Territorien gesetzliche Früchte hat. Wir finden ihn in New Orleans, und derselbe Mann, welcher dem Volke von Illinois in Freeport gesagt hatte, daß nichts darauf ankäme, wie das Obergericht über die abstrakte Frage der Einführung der Sklaverei in die Territorien entscheide, — derselbe Mann spricht zu dem Volke von Louisiana in folgender Weise:

„Ich und die Demokratie von Illinois nehmen die Entscheidung des Obergerichts der Union im Dred Scott-Falle als eine gültige Auslegung der Verfassung an. In Uebereinstimmung mit diesem Urtheile halten wir Sklaven für Eigentum ganz wie anderes Eigentum, und der Eigner des Sklaven hat dasselbe Recht in ein Gebiet zu ziehen und sein Sklaveneigentum mitzunehmen, wie der Eigner jedes anderen Eigentums mit dem seinigen.“

Wäre noch ein Mißverständnis dieses Satzes möglich, so hat er daeagen in der Beprechung im Senate am 23. Februar 1859 sich vorgelesen:

„Da Sklaven nach der Dred Scott-Entscheidung Eigentum sind, stehen sie mit allen andern Arten Eigentums auf demselben Fuße, und die Territorialgesetzgebung hat ebensowohl die Pflicht Sklaveneigentum, als jedes andere zu beschützen, als wie Pferde, Vieh, Schnittwaaren und geistige Getränke.“

Bemerken Sie wohl, Richter Douglas v-gibt nie

die geistigen Getränke. Da habt Ihr Douglas, den Bewerber um die Senatorelle von Illinois, welchem es einerlei ist, wie das Obergericht entscheidet; und hier habt Ihr Douglas, den Bewerber um die Präsidentschaft, der die Entscheidung des Obergerichts für eine endgültige Auslegung der Verfassung erklärt.

Was hat denn aber das Obergericht im Dred Scott-Falle entschieden? Lassen Sie mich aus Howard's amtlichem Berichte einige der in diesem Falle entschiedenen Punkte vorlesen:

„Jeder Bürger hat ein Recht, in das Territorium jeden Gegenstand des Eigentums, welchen die Verfassung der Ver. St. dafür anerkennt, mitzunehmen.“

„Die Verfassung der Ver. Staaten erkennt Sklaven als Eigentum an und verpflichtet die Bundesverwaltung, es zu beschützen.“

„Das Gesetz des Congresses also, welches einem Bürger der Ver. Staaten, der seine Sklaven mitnimmt, wenn er in das fragliche Territorium zieht, verbietet da zu wohnen, ist eine Vergeßlichkeit des Privateigentums, das von der Verfassung geschützt wird.“

„Während es ein Territorium bleibt, mag der Congress innerhalb seiner verfassungsmäßigen Schranken, für die Bürger der Ver. Staaten Gesetze erlassen und eine Territorial-Verwaltung errichten, und die Form der örtlichen Verwaltungen muß nach Gutdünken des Congresses eingerichtet werden; aber mit Gewalt, welche die des Congresses selbst nicht überschreiten, die dieser gemäß der Verfassung über die Bürger der Ver. Staaten betreffs der Eigentumsrechte auszuüben berechtigt ist.“

Bedarf dies noch einer Erläuterung, so wird sie durch einige weitere Sätze der Entscheidung geliefert, die ich anführe:

„Es kann in der Verfassung kein Wort gefunden werden, welches dem Congress Gewalt über Sklaveneigentum gäbe, oder welches Eigentum der Art zu geringerem Schutze berechtigt, als Eigentum jeder andern Art; die einzige ihm übertragene Gewalt ist die Gewalt, verbunden mit der Pflicht, den Sklavenhalter in seinem Rechte zu schützen.“

Das also nennt Douglas die endgültige Auslegung der Constitution, und er weiß recht wohl, was er damit meint; denn sagte er nicht, die Verpflichtung der Territorial Legislatur, Sklaveneigentum zu beschützen, sei eben so groß, als die jede andere Art Eigentums zu beschützen? — Was wird dann aber aus seinem großen Prinzipel der Volkssouveränität? Was wird dann sogar aus jener homöopathischen Verdünnung, welche er „unfreundliche Gesetzgebung“ nennt? Der Congress kann nach der Dred Scott-Entscheidung, die Douglas als endgültige Auslegung der Constitution anerkennt, keine Gewalt verleihen, die er nicht selbst besitzt. Die einzige Gewalt, die er über Sklaveneigentum besitzt, ist die den Eigener in seinen Rechten zu schützen und diese Gewalt ist zugleich eine Pflicht. Somit kann der Congress der Territorial-Verwaltung betreffs Sklaveneigentums auch nur die Gewalt und zugleich die Pflicht, es zu schützen übertragen.

So müssen wir also das Maß der Volkssouveränität noch einen Grad weiter herabschrauben, um bei Douglas' großem Prinzipel zu bleiben. Dasselbe besteht nicht einmal in dem Rechte des Volks, Sklaverei aus einem Gebiete hinauszuhelen; es besteht in der Gewalt der Territorialverwaltung zugleich mit der Pflicht, Gesetze zum Schutz der Sklaverei zu erlassen, aber

durchaus keine dagegen. Die angebliche Gewalt, unfreundliche Gesetze dagegen zu erlassen, scheint in die Pflicht, freundliche Gesetze zu geben, sich zu vermandeln. Das nenne ich Volkssouveränität mit Hindernissen. Sie ähnelt einer Mod Turtle Suppe — da ist Suppe genug, aber nicht ein Schalen Turtle.

Freilich war Richter Douglas gewohnt, über der Bedeutung des Dred Scott-Entscheids ein wenig hin und her zu wackeln, aber der Willkür Beschluß, den seine Freunde in Baltimore annahmen, hat ihm über seine Verlegenheiten hinausgeholfen. Derselbe lautet wie folgt:

„Daß es mit der wahren Auslegung der Einmännig-Plattform übereinstimmt, daß während des Bestehens einer Territorial-Verwaltung, die Beschränkungen, wie immer sie auch sein mögen, welche die Bundesverfassung den Territorialgesetzgebungen betreffs der Sklaverei auferlegt, wie dieselbe vom Obergericht der Ver. Staaten ausgelegt worden ist, oder ausgelegt werden wird, von guten Bürgern geachtet und treu und gewissenhaft von jedem Zweige der Bundesverwaltung vollzogen werden müssen.“

Wozu Richter Douglas in seinem Annahmeschreiben, seinen gnädigen Beifall hergiebt.

Wir hören nicht länger von den „Rechten des Volks der Gebiete, ihre häuslichen Angelegenheiten nach ihrer Art zu regeln“, sondern nur von der „Beschränkung, welche den Territorialverwaltungen betreffs der häuslichen Beziehungen auferlegt ist.“ Der Wechsel ist sehr bedeutend: dieses Verbot, welches es auch sein möge, ist schließlich durch das Oberbundesgericht zu bestimmen. Erinnern Sie sich, daß vor Herrn Buchanan's Erwählung, so oft die Frage nach dem Rechte des Eigentums an Sklaven unter dem Territorial-Gouvernement in Betracht kam, Herrn Douglas' regelmäßige Antwort war: „diese Frage hat das Obergericht zu entscheiden“. Diese Antwort war der Vorläufer des Dred Scott-Entscheids. Wir erfahren jetzt, daß die Sache durch das Oberbundesgericht nicht endgültig entschieden werden. Was kommt demnach? Die Beschränkung, welche schon endgültig entschieden ist, kennen wir — das Gouvernement kann Eigentumsrechte in Sklaven nicht beeinträchtigen, sondern hat die Gewalt und die Pflicht zugleich, den Eigener in seinen Rechten zu schützen. Beschränkungen, welche künftig noch erlassen werden sollen? Der Himmel weiß, was für welche das sein werden. Aber, was immer sie auch sein mögen, Douglas ist verpflichtet sie zu erzwingen, mit Treue und Gewissenhaftigkeit.

So kommt's heraus, daß seine Volkssouveränität einem Territorium als solchem Sklaverei unabwendbarer aufträgt, als sie dem Staate Süd-Carolina aufgetragen ist. Das souveräne Volk von Süd-Carolina vermag die Sklaverei aufzuheben, sobald es dies für gut findet; das Volk von Kansas, solange dieses noch ein Gebiet ist, kann das nicht. Das Volk von Süd-Carolina hat das Recht, Sklaverei durch unfreundliche Gesetzgebung zu entmuthigen; das Volk von Kansas ist verpflichtet, den Sklaveneigener in seinen Rechten zu schützen, und ist verpflichtet, Gesetze zu erlassen, die dieser Pflicht zuwiderlaufen. Die Bundesregierung hat keine Gewalt, in Süd-Carolina sich einzumischen; aber sobald Kansas wagt, die „Beschränkung“ zu misshandeln, würde Richter Douglas, wenn er Präsident der Ver. Staaten werden sollte, sich verpflichtet sehen, jene Beschränkung mit Treue und Gewissenhaftigkeit zu erzwingen. Und nach diesem Freiheitsmord an den Ter-

itorien, verkriecht sich dieser „Kämpfe der Freiheit“ unter die richterliche Willkürherrschaft des Obergerichts und wie Banquo's Mörder, sagt er Euch: „Du kannst nicht sagen, daß ich's gethan!“

Aber ich sage: er hat's gethan! Die Tendenz seiner Lehre über Volkssouveränität wurde bestimmt durch die Entscheidung der Frage, ob Sklaven als Eigenthum in ein Territorium eingeführt werden könnten, ehe ein erlaubendes Gesetz der Territorial-Legislatur erlassen war, oder ob nicht. Wurde diese Frage bejahend entschieden, so war die Lehre, daß die Sklaverei ein Geschöpf örtlichen Gesetzes ist, gänzlich aufgegeben. Wenn Sklaverei in einem Gebiete bestehen konnte, ohne durch örtliches Gesetz eingeführt zu sein, so bestand sie daselbst durch ein höheres als örtliches Gesetz — durch die Constitution der Ver. Staaten natürlich. In diesem Falle muß jeder Mann von gesundem Verstande einsehen, daß dann Sklaverei aus einem Gebiete nicht durch ein Gesetz seiner Legislatur entfernt werden kann, auf geradem oder ungeradem Wege; und Herr Douglas braucht sich nicht über die Lehren seiner südlichen Widersacher zu verwundern. Sie sind das natürliche und berechtigte Erzeugniß seiner eigenen Behauptung. Als er den wichtigen Punkt angab — und er hat ihn zugegeben, dieser „Kämpfe der Freiheit“ — mußte er die Folgerungen daraus kennen, oder nicht kennen. Kannte er sie nicht, so trifft ihn die Anklage grober Stupidität; kannte er sie, so trifft ihn die Anklage vorbedachten Verraths an der Sache der freien Arbeit, und zugleich der ärgsten Deuselei. In welchem dieser beiden Charaktere müßt Ihr Euern „Kämpfe der Freiheit“ am liebsten? Als Einen, der nicht Scharfstan genug fe zu vertheidigen hatte, oder als Einen, der sie absichtlich verräth? Es giebt aber Fälle, in denen Stupidität nicht weniger verbrecherisch ist als Deuselei.

Das wäre also das „große Prinzipel der Volkssouveränität“. Das heißt also, dem Volke überlassen, wie es seine eigenen häuslichen Einrichtungen in seiner Weise ordnen will.“ Ich habe ein Recht zu erklären, daß, wenn je ein riesiger, gewissenloser, schamloser Verrath an einem freien Volke verübt worden ist — wenn die Geschichte je ein Beispiel von unverschämter, anstößiger, empfindender Deuselei geliefert hat, so ist es die dieses „besten Kämpfe der Freiheit.“ Sklaverei unabwendbar den Territorien aufzubürden und dies zu nennen: „das Volk vollkommen frei in der Ordnung ihrer häuslichen Einrichtungen lassen;“ — dem Volke jedes Recht der Selbstverwaltung zu entreißen, und das „Volkssouveränität“ zu heißen! — Streicht das Wort „Demagogismus“ aus Euern Wörterbüchern, wenn Ihr es nicht hier anwenden wollt! Aber wenn wir auch begreifen, wie zügelloser, verzweifelter Ehrgeiz zu solchen Verräthereien seine Zuflucht nehmen kann, so bleibt es doch unbegreiflich, wie so viele Tausende sich durch dieselben haben täuschen lassen.

Ist es ersichtlich, daß der „Kämpfe der Freiheit“, der solche Lehren vertritt, im Leben etwas unzuverlässig befunden wird? Wie lärmend trat er gegen dieecompton-Verfassung auf! Welch' schredlicher Gedanke, daß ein Territorium als Staat in die Union hereingebracht werden soll, wenn das Volk die Constitution nicht billigt! — Endlich macht das Volk von Kansas eine neue Constitution; sie wird dem Volk vorgelegt und von einer großen Mehrheit angenommen.

Alle Bedingungen der Aufnahme sind streng erfüllt; sie klopfen an die Thür der Union, und wir denken, unser „wahrer Kämpfe der Freiheit“ wird mit unvermindertem Eifer zur Rettung herbeieilen — denn sein großes Prinzipel steht auf dem Spiele. Aber wo ist Douglas? Das Repräsentantenhaus stimmt für Zulassung; die Entscheidung der Sache hängt an vom Senate. Die Sache kommt vor das Committee über Territorien, welches aus sieben Mitgliedern besteht. Douglas ist einer davon; aber er kommt nicht zu ihren Sitzungen.

Die Stimmen im Committee stehen 3 gegen 3. Die Stimme von Douglas kann die Frage im Committee entscheiden, zu Gunsten der Zulassung von Kansas. Man weiß ja, wie viel für das Verfahren des Senats von dem Vorgange des Committee abhängt, aber Douglas stimmt nicht mit! Douglas, der sich so feurig gegen die Zulassung unter einer Verfassung erklärt hatte, welche das Volk nicht wollte, stimmt nicht mit, als die Zulassung verlangt wird mit einer Verfassung, welche das Volk will. Douglas, der „wahrer Kämpfe der Freiheit“, hält das Schicksal von Kansas in diesem Committee in seinen Händen, und Douglas stimmt nicht mit. Wie kommt das? Als er derecompton-Verfassung sich widersetzte, war er ein Verwerber um seine Wiederwahl in den Senat. Seitdem hat sich die Sachlage geändert. Douglas ist jetzt ein Verwerber um die Präfectur. Derselbe Mann, der 1857 das freie Volk von Illinois zu beglücken hatte, hat nun das Volk des Stens zu beglücken, und anstatt den Committee-Bericht zu Gunsten der Zulassung von Kansas als Freistaat zu entscheiden, ist er eifrig mit seiner Rede vom 15. März beschäftigt, welche die Sklavenhalter überzeugen soll, daß sein großes Prinzipel der Volkssouveränität die Zulassung von Freistaaten begünstigt, — der Freistaat Kansas wird nochmals aus der Union ferngehalten, und Douglas — „ist der wahrer Kämpfe der Freiheit.“ Arme Freiheit — der Kämpen-Gürtel liegt ihr wie ein Strick um den Hals!

Hier will ich anhalten. Ich könnte Stundenlang Thatsachen auf Thatsachen häufen, Schluß auf Schluß Grund auf Grund, bis die faulige Anhäufung von Trug und Deuselei, dem Sonnenlichte ausgesetzt, Euren Nasen quälen würde. Es ist genug. Ich will Herrn Douglas, den „wahren Freiheitskämpfer“, entlassen und ein paar Bemerkungen über Herrn Douglas, den „größten lebenden Staatsmann“, machen.

Wahre Staatsmannschaft kann auf keiner andern Grundlage ruhen, als einer innigen Bekanntschaft mit der Wissenschaft der Volksregierung und einer gründlichen Kenntniß der Quellen und Wirkungen politischer Einrichtungen. Sie kann kein anderes Ziel und Ende haben, als die Bewahrung gesunder konstitutioneller Grundsätze und eine Anwendung derselben, die der Entwicklung wahrer Volksfreiheit möglichst günstig ist. Wir wollen sehen, wie „der größte lebende Staatsmann“ die Probe ausbält. Ich werde mich auf einige Thatsachen beschränken, welche Lebensfragen betreffen.

Es ist einer der auffälligsten Züge unseres Bundeswesens, daß die verschiedenen Zweige unserer Bundes-Regierung eine gewisse Unabhängigkeit in ihren besondern Fächern haben. Um der Gefahr und den Mißbräuchen vorzubeugen, welche aus dieser Unabhängigkeit entstehen konnten, hatte man die zur Ausführung dieser

Geschäfte nöthigen Vollmachten sorgfältig abzugrenzen und genau zu bestimmen. So wurde ein System von Schranken und Gegengewichten in unserer Constitution errichtet, welches Gewaltmaßung unendlich macht. Es wird in der That gesagt, daß die ausführende Gewalt dem Volke verantwortlich ist, aber diese Verantwortlichkeit besteht lediglich in der Möglichkeit, sie vor Gericht zu ziehen. Denn die Secretäre des Präsidenten sitzen nicht, wie die Minister der Krone Englands, auf den Bänken der Gesetzgeber mit und sind der unmittelbaren Aufsicht einer parlamentarischen Mehrheit unterworfen. Unsere Executiv-Gewalt, ungleich der anderer constitutioneller Regierungen, ist auf eine Zeit von vier Jahren beschränkt, und kann abgesetzt werden nur auf eine Ueberschreitung auf Landesverrath, Bestechung und andere schwere Verbrechen und Verschuldungen.

Aber schon Jefferson sagt uns, daß die Anklage eine bloße Bogelscheuche ist. Die vollziehende Gewalt bewegt sich demnach unabhängig innerhalb ihrer besonderen Vollmachten. Es ist also eine Lebensfrage, daß dieser Kreis von Vollmachten genau abgegrenzt sei, und daß jene Vollmachten der Gesetzgebung, welche zu denen der vollziehenden Gewalt eine notwendige Ergänzung bilden, eifrig bewahrt bleiben.

Wenn dieses System von Schranken und Gegengewichten schon im Allgemeinen nöthig ist, wird es doppelt unentbehrlich in allen Angelegenheiten, die zur Verwahrung unserer auswärtigen Politik gehören. In diesen diplomatischen Verhandlungen mit fremden Mächten, sollte freilich unserer vollziehenden Gewalt eine gewisse Discretion bewiesen werden; aber da das Cabinet des Präsidenten nicht in derselben Weise der Gesetzgebung, wie die britischen Minister dem Parlament unterworfen ist, so wird es wesentlich, daß anstatt solcher unmittelbaren Aufsicht ein anderes System von Schranken um die vollziehende Gewalt herumgestellt werde. Dies ist in der Constitution dadurch geschehen, daß zwar nicht die diplomatischen Verhandlungen selber, aber ihre Zwecke und Ergebnisse von der unmittelbaren Einwilligung des Congresses abhängig gemacht werden. Es kann also kein Vertrag geschlossen und ausgeführt werden, ohne daß ihn zwei Drittheile des Senats billigen. Und der Congress allein soll Gewalt haben, Krieg zu erklären. Warum wurde die Vollmacht Krieg zu erklären, der vollziehenden Gewalt nicht anvertraut?

Es ist kaum nöthig, daß ich Ihnen die Rolle schildere, welche Kriege in der Weltgeschichte gespielt haben — das Blut von Millionen vergossen, nicht selten um geringfügiger Anlässe willen; das Glück ganzer Generationen zerstört; das Gedeihen der Länder auf Jahr hunderte verflümmert; die Menschenrechte mit Füßen getreten; der Fortschritt der Civilisation auf ganze Jahrhunderte gehemmt! Ist es zu verwundern, daß die Urheber der Constitution nicht einen einzelnen Beamten mit der fürchtbaren Vollmacht, auf dieses Unheil über die Republik zu bringen, betraut haben? — noch dazu einen Beamten, der eine Zeitlang nicht unter der unmittelbaren Verfolgung der Gesetzgebung steht? Die Macht der Kriegserklärung, welche die Interessen der Nation im vollsten Umfange verstrickt, ist gewiß eines der höchsten Vorrechte der Souveränität, und es wurde höchst weise demjenigen Zweige der Verwaltung vorbehalten, in welchem die Souveränität des Volkes aufs

Umfassendste vertreten ist. Da das Recht der Kriegserklärung der vollziehenden Gewalt entzogen und ausdrücklich dem Congress übertragen ist, so kann die vollziehende Gewalt folglich keine Vollmacht haben, zu kriegerischen Maßregeln zu schreiten, wenn sie nicht besonders vom Congress dazu ermächtigt ist; denn was wäre das ausschließliche Recht der Kriegserklärung werth für den Congress, wenn das Recht zu kriegerischen Maßregeln zu greifen — d. h. den Krieg herbeizuführen oder zu schaffen — der vollziehenden Gewalt zugefallen wäre? Dies ist einer der charakteristischsten Züge unseres constitutionellen Systems. Man kann ihn nicht ändern, ohne eine der Schutzwehren unserer nationalen Sicherheit zu zerstören. Niemand, wer den Geist unserer amerikanischen Constitution begreift, kann umhin das einzusehen, und wer's nicht thut, von dem muß man sagen, daß er die Tendenz unserer Grundgesetze nicht begreift. Ist es nicht überausend, daß wir denjenigen als einen Soldaten kennen lernen, den man uns als „den größten lebenden Staatsmann“ vorführt?

Seit einer Anzahl von Jahren hat Dr. Douglas, wo nur immer eine Schwierigkeit zwischen dieser und einer fremden Regierung bestand, wieder und wieder versucht, dem Präsidenten die Vollmacht zuzugestehen, zu kriegerischen Maßregeln nach eigenem Gutdünken zu greifen, ohne daß er auf die Einwilligung des Congresses warten sollte. Hier ist ein Vorschlag des Herrn Douglas vom 24 Mai 1858:

„Es sei verordnet etc., daß in Fällen handgreiflicher Verletzungen des Völkerrechts durch Verletzung unserer Flagge, unseres Bodens und unserer Bürger oder ihres Eigenthums, wenn schnelle Abhülfe erforderlich ist, und wenn nach der Ansicht des Präsidenten Verzug mit der Ehre und Würde der Republik unüberträglich wäre, der Präsident hierdurch bevollmächtigt ist, diejenige Gewalt anzuwenden, welche er für nöthig hält, um den Vollzug solcher Verletzung zu verhindern und gerechte Abhülfe oder Genugthuung für Geschehenes zu erlangen; und es soll seine Pflicht sein, die Ursachen jedes Falles nebst den Gründen für seinen begünstigten Entschluß dem Congress so frühzeitig als möglich vorzulegen, um weitere Beschlüsse des Congresses einzuholen.“

Diese Bill war eingebracht zu einer Zeit, als britische Kriegsschiffe im mexikanischen Golf amerikanische Kauffahrer auf den Verdacht des Sklavenhandels hin anzuhalten und zu durchsuchen begonnen hatten. Die Bill ging nicht durch; aber wo immer sich eine Gelegenheit fand, sei es bei einer Verhandlung wegen Verwilligungen für die Flotte, sei es bei einer auswärtigen Bewilligung, hat er wieder und immer wieder versucht, diese verberbliche Uebertragung von Gewalt herbeizuführen. Es war am 18. Aug. 1859, daß er seine Ansichten vollständiger und nachdrücklicher als je zuvor erstarrte. Der Präsident hatte in einer besonderen Botenschaft um besondere Ermächtigung gebeten, amerikanische Bürger auf der Transatlantische zu beschützen. Da erklärte sich Herr Douglas wie folgt:

„Ich glaube, der Präsident sollte das Recht haben, plötzliche Verletzungen unserer Bürger oder Beschimpfungen unserer Flagge zu rächen, ohne auf die Einwilligung des Congresses zu warten. Die vollziehende Gewalt jeder andern Nation hat das selbe in einer ihrer Verfassung angemessenen Weise. Ich gehe weiter. Ich würde die vollziehende Gewalt mit der Vollmacht bekleiden, wenn eine Verletzung unserer Schiffe und unseres Handels begangen ist, sofort zu rüchigen, sollte sie meinen, das Interesse und die Ehre der Nation verlange rasches Handeln. Ich möchte die-

fen Grundsatz in seiner Anwendung allgemein machen. Ich wünsche, daß der Präsident der Ver. Staaten so viel Recht hat, amerikanische Bürger und die amerikanische Flagge auswärts zu beschützen, als die vollziehende Gewalt jeder andern civilisirten Nation auf der Erde besitzt. . . . Ich bin bereit, den Grundsatz zu dem meinigen zu machen, daß diese Macht dem Präsidenten der Ver. Staaten von Rechts wegen und immerdar gebühre, anwendbar über die ganze Welt, wo immer er glaubt, amerikanische Interessen und Ehre erbeischen es. . . . Wenn es bekannt ist, daß unsere vollziehende Gewalt dieselben Rechte besitzt außerhalb der Ver. Staaten als der brittische Premier und der französische Kaiser, oder das Haupt jeder andern Nation besitzt, so wird man viel weniger solche Beleidigungen erleben.“

Hätte Herr Douglas solche Vorschläge in der Höhe der Debatte gethan, in kriegerischer Aufregung, so könnten wir ihn entschuldigen damit, daß seine Gemüthsart mit seinem Verstande davon gelassen sei. Aber die häufige, überlegte und anhaltende Wiederholung solcher Ansichten muß uns die Ueberzeugung aufdrängen, daß er sich darin festgeritten hat. Hat er je die Folgen und Tragweite solcher einer Veränderung bedacht, wie er verlangt? Weist er, was es heißt, daß der Präsident das Recht haben solle, ohne auf Einwilligung des Congresses zu warten, das Heer und die Flotte zu verwenden, wenn er — nicht wenn der Congress, sondern wenn er glaubt, das Interesse des Landes verlange es? Geseht, der Präsident wäre ein Mann von jährniger Gemüthsart — von mehr Tapferkeit als Umsicht — oder ein Mann von ungeregeltem Ehrgeiz — oder ein durchtriebener Politikus, gewissenlos genug, das Land in Krieg zu verwickeln, um die Aufmerksamkeit des Volkes von einheimischen Schwierigkeiten abzulenken; geseht so ein Präsident hat die Vollmacht, die Streitkräfte der Ver. Staaten zu gebrauchen, wenn es ihm guthinkt. Wäre nicht unser Friede und unsere Sicherheit ganz seiner Gemüthsart, oder seiner Ehrgeize, oder seiner Gewissenlosigkeit preisgegeben?

Dies ist keineswegs gefährlich, sagt Mr. Douglas, denn „nicht jede kriegerische Handlung führt zum Kriege“. Allerdings nicht; wenn aber irgend etwas in der Welt geeignet ist zum Kriege zu führen, so sind es kriegerische Handlungen. Es ist wahr, wie Mr. Douglas sagt, daß der Präsident „so schnell wie möglich“ dem Congress wird zu berichten haben; aber wird nicht der Präsident im Stande sein, durch einen Mißbrauch der Armee und Flotte das Land in Krieg zu stürzen und Nationen mit einander zu verfeinden, ehe das „so schnell als möglich“ eintritt?

Es ist wahr, daß der Congress später die Macht haben wird, dem Kriege ein Ende zu machen; aber wissen wir denn nicht, daß unsere Regierung nicht immer von einer ruhigen öffentlichen Meinung, sondern häufig von den Leidenschaften des Volkes abhängig ist? Wenn wir einmal durch die Maßregeln des Präsidenten in aktive Feindseligkeiten verwickelt sind, wenn die beräuschende Muth der Artillerie die kriegerische Begeisterung des Volkes wach gerufen hat, — wenn einmal die Kampflust der Massen durch den Anblick von Blut erregt ist, wird dann nicht das, was gegen den gesunden Sinn des Volkes begonnen war, durch die Leidenschaften desselben fortgeführt werden?

Mr. Douglas erneuerte seinen Vorschlag, so oft irgend ein Kriegswölken am Horizont sichtbar wurde. Indessen jene Zwistigkeiten mit England und den

mittelamerikanischen Republiken, zu deren Erleichterung er der Executive die Macht, kriegerische Maßregeln zu treffen, übertragen wissen wollte, sind durch diplomatische Verhandlungen beigelegt worden. Unsere friedlichen Beziehungen zu auswärtigen Mächten sind kaum irgendwie gestört worden. Nicht ein Tropfen Blut ist vergossen. Die Ehre der Republik blieb unbeschädigt, die Verfassung unverletzt. Nehmen wir nun jedoch an, daß Mr. Douglas' Ansichten durchgebrungen wären, und daß er, besesselt mit der Macht, die er forderte, Präsident gewesen wäre.

Ich lege Ihnen die erste Frage vor, und er suche dieselbe reiflich zu erwägen: Was würde dann das Resultat gewesen sein? Wie viel Beleidigungen, wirkliche oder eingebildete, würde er mit der Armee oder der Flotte gesündigt haben, ohne die Beschlüsse des Congresses abzuwarten? Wie oft würde er, wenn er nicht durch den Congress behindert gewesen wäre, sofortige Genugthuung verlangt haben? In wie viel Thorheiten würde sein kindischer Haß gegen England ihn verleitet haben? In wie viel Kriege würde uns seine Politik der Aufsehenmacherei während dieser letzten paar Jahre geführt haben? Mit dem Blute unserer Söhne häßet ihr den Mißbrauch seiner Gewalt bezahlen müssen. Gebt dem Präsidenten die Macht, welche Mr. Douglas für ihn fordert, und die Frage über Frieden oder Krieg, über Glück oder Unglück der Nation hängt von dem Temperament eines einzigen Menschen ab. Man mache Mr. Douglas zum Präsidenten, man gebe ihm, wie er es verlangt, die Macht des französischen Kaisers, und er wird, wenn auch nicht seine Klingheit, so doch sicherlich seine Willkür zu Tage fördern.

Doch er behauptet, daß unsere Executive diese Macht haben müsse, weil die Executive jeder andern Nation sie hat. In der That! Weist er denn nicht, daß gerade darin der Unterschied zwischen unserem Regierungssystem und dem der anderen Staaten liegt? Ist es ihm nie eingefallen, daß die Herstellung kaiserlicher Gewalt unser ganzes System gegenseitiger Machtbeschränkungen über den Haufen werfen müßte? Weist er nicht, daß selbst in den Händen eines englischen Premierministers diese Macht weniger zu fürchten sein würde, als in den Händen eines Präsidenten, da der englische Minister der unmittelbaren Kontrolle einer parlamentarischen Majorität unterworfen ist, und in jedem Augenblicke überstimmt und entlassen werden kann, was bei dem Präsidenten und seinem Staatssekretär nicht der Fall ist? Oh, „größter aller lebenden Staatsmänner“, wenn du das nicht weißt, so kann es dir jeder niedliche kleine Schulschlingel sagen. Seht, da steht er, „in der Fülle seiner Unwissenheit über diesen großen Gegenstand, in der Reife seiner Unfähigkeit, die Bedeutung desselben zu begreifen“, wie Lord Brougham sich ausdrücken würde, und versucht die verfassungsmäßigen Stützen niederzubrechen, auf denen die Freiheit und die Sicherheit der Nation ruht. Eine solche Unwissenheit ist gefährlich, wenn sie mit Anmaßung gepaart ist.

Laßt jene „größten aller lebenden Staatsmänner“ erst eine Weile die besonderen Merkmale studiren, durch welche sich die republikanische Regierung Amerika's von den monarchischen Regierungen der alten Welt unterscheidet. Gebt ihm Gelegenheit zu lernen, daß ein amerikanischer Präsident oder Staatssekretär niemals dazu bestimmt war, ein englischer Minister oder ein

französischer Kaiser zu sein. Laßt ihn lernen das System des schönen Gleichgewichts in unserer Verfassung zu begreifen, welches die Hauptstütze unserer Freiheit und Sicherheit bildet. Aber sprecht nicht davon, ihn, sowie er jetzt ist, zu dem Thron zu berufen, auf dem die höchste Verantwortlichkeit ruht. Wenn Ihr einen zuverlässigen Mann für die Ausführung Eurer Geheiß wünscht, so wählt ihn unter denen, welche den Geist derselben verstehen, nicht aber einen Mann, der seinen Präsidentenstuhl mit kaiserlicher Macht poßtern möchte, und der zu seinem Vergnügen wie ein leichtsinniger Knabe mit der Reule des Herrntes spielen würde.

Ich hege den Verdacht, daß Hr. Douglas jene Centralisation der Macht in den Händen des Präsidenten deshalb durchzuführen suchte, weil er selbst erwartete, Präsident zu werden, und daß er sie würde benutzen haben, um das Land in kriegerische Unternehmungen zur Eroberung von Cuba und eines Theils von Mexiko zu stürzen, um sich selbst durch eine solche Eroberungspolitik aus den Schwierigkeiten zu ziehen, in welche ihn seine Stellung zur Sklavenfrage verwickelt hat. Ich spreche dies als meinen Verdacht aus. Ob derselbe auf triftigen Beweisen, die in seiner früheren Laufbahn und seiner jetzigen Stellung enthalten sind, beruht, überlasse ich Ihnen selbst zu beurtheilen.

Jedenfalls ist die Maßregel, welche er befristwortete und vertheiligte, an sich selbst so gefährlich und verabschönungswürdig, daß keine weiteren Absichten sie verdammenswerther machen können. Sie wurde ihm ohne Zweifel von dem Verlangen eingegeben, die verlorene Günst der Sklavereifreunde dadurch wieder zu gewinnen, daß er diese selbst in allen Dingen zu übertressen suchte, die nicht unmittelbar mit der Territorialfrage im Zusammenhang stehen. Dies mag als eine schwere Anklage erscheinen, doch ich werde sie sofort begründen, denn in diesen Dingen zeigte sich Drn. Douglas Staatsweisheit in mehr als gewöhnlichem Glanze.

John Brown hatte seinen Einfall nach Viranien gemacht. Die Republikaner mißbilligten diese Handlung öffentlich, und sie sprachen sich eifrig und offen dagegen aus, wie sie es in allen Fällen einer Einmischung in die Gesetze und Einrichtungen eines andern Staates thun würden; denn es liegt darin eine Verletzung des Geistes unserer Verfassung, welche für jedes Uebel eine gesetzliche Abhilfe darbietet. Aber der Süden befand sich in Aufregung, und Douglas glaubte, daß für ihn Aussichten vorhanden wären. Er bemächtigte sich der Angelegenheit mit fast unverschämtem Eifer, indem er sich krankhaft abmühte, dem Verfahren des Committee's über Harpers Ferry zuzukommen, von dem man angemessene Vorschläge erwartete. Am 22. Januar 1860 brachte er im Senat die folgenden Beschlüsse ein:

„Daß das Committee über Gerichtsweisen angewiesen werde, eine Bill zum Schutze jedes Staats oder Territoriums gegen Angriffe von Seiten der Behörden oder Bewohner eines andern Staates einzureichen, und zur Unterdrückung und Bestrafung von Verschwörungen und Vereinigungen in einem Staate oder Territorium, mit der Absicht, die Regierung, das Eigentum oder die Institutionen eines andern Staates oder Territoriums oder Union anzugreifen, zu stören oder zu belästigen.“

Die wahre Bedeutung und Absicht dieses Beschlusses ging aus der Rede hervor, mit welcher Douglas sie einführte. Nachdem er versucht hat, den Beweis zu

liefern, daß die Constitution unserer Bundesregierung die Macht überträgt, das durchzuführen, was der Beschluß vorschlägt, entwickelt er seinen Gegenstand in folgender Weise:

„Sir, ich halte dafür, daß es nicht allein nöthig ist, die Militärmacht anzuwenden, wenn ein thatsächlicher Fall von Einbruch vorliegt, sondern dem richterlichen Departement der Regierung muß die Macht erteilt werden, in den einzelnen Staaten alle Verschwörungen und Verbindungen zu unterdrücken, welche den Zweck haben, einen andern Staat anzugreifen, oder dessen Regierung, den Frieden der Bewohner, das Eigentum oder die Einrichtungen des Staates zu belästigen oder zu stören. Sie müssen die Verschwörung, die Vereinigung zu solcher That unterdrücken, und dann werden Sie diese selbst im Voraus unterdrücken. Ich verlange, daß die Verfassung in gutem Glauben ausgeführt werde, so daß jede Vereinigung zum Angriff eines Staates oder zur Belästigung der Einwohner, oder zur Beeinträchtigung des Eigentums, oder zum Umsturz der Einrichtungen oder der Regierung unterdrückt und bestraft wird. Ich glaube, daß dies in wirksamer Weise geschehen kann, wenn die Bundesgerichte in den verschiedenen Staaten bevollmächtigt werden, solche Vergehen vor ihr Forum zu ziehen, und die Verletzung des Gesetzes mit angemessenen Strafen zu belegen.“

So viel über die Art und Weise, wie solche Vereinigungen unterdrückt und bestraft werden könnten und sollten. Was ist nun das Wesen dieser Vereinigungen und wo bestehen sie?

„Sir“, sagte Douglas, „welches waren die Ursachen des Harpers Ferry Aufstandes? Ohne mich auf Beibringung der Beweise im Einzelnen einzulassen, nehme ich keinen Anstand, meine feste und wohlertogene, Ueberzeugung dahin auszusprechen, daß das Harpers Ferry Verbrechen eine natürliche, logische und unvermeidliche Folge der Lehren der republikanischen Partei war, so wie dieselben in ihrer Plattform, ihrer Parteipresse, ihren Flugchriften und Blättern, und besonders in den Reden ihrer Führer innerhalb und außerhalb des Congresses niedergelegt sind. Der große Grundsatz der republikanischen Partei ist gewaltthamer, unveröhnlicher ewiger Krieg gegen das Institut der amerikanischen Sklaverei mit der Absicht, dasselbe in dem ganzen Lande zu vernichten.“

Diese Worte sind klar. Da haben wir die gefährliche Vereinigung mit der Absicht einen gewaltthätigen Krieg gegen die Institutionen anderer Staaten zu führen. Wir wollen nun sehen, was der Richter mit dieser unglücklichen Vereinigung thun will, zu der, wie ich leider sagen muß, die Weissen von uns gebören.

„Sir“, sagt der Richter, „geben Sie uns ein solches Gesetz, wie es die Constitution beabsichtigt und gestattet, und ich will dem Senator von New York beweisen, daß es ein constitutionelles Mittel giebt, um den unvermeidlichen Kampf zu vermeiden. Ich will die Thür des Gefängnisses öffnen und den Verschwörern gegen den Frieden der Republik und die innere Ruhe anderer Staaten gestatten, sich ihre Zellen auszusuchen, in denen sie ihr elendes Leben zur Strafe für ihre Verbrechen gegen den Frieden der Gesellschaft hinführen mögen.“

Doch, um allen Zweifel über die Natur der Verschwörung und Vereinigung zu beseitigen, fährt er fort:

„Nun irgend Jemand behaupten, daß, obwohl dies Verbrechen bei Harpers Ferry begangen wurde, keine Gefahr für die Wiederholung vorhanden sei? Sir, besteht nicht die republikanische Partei noch vollständig, organisiert, festgezwungen und trotzigt? Hält sie nicht noch offenbar an demselben Glaubensbekenntnis fest, wie vor der Zeit jenes Einfalles? Ihre Lehren sind dieselben geblieben. Sie werden im ganzen Lande verbreitet durch Redner, Flugchriften, Blätter und die Parteipresse. Die Ursachen, welche den Einfall bei Harpers Ferry hervorriefen, si

nach in Kraft . . . Herr Präsident! Die Art und Weise, wie der Fische zu erhalten ist, ist klar. Dies System der sectionellen Kriegsführung muß aufhören. Die Constitution hat die Macht dazu gegeben, und Alles, was wir vom Congreß fordern, ist die Anweisung der Mittel, und dann wollen wir durch Anklagen und Uebersührungen vor den Bundesgerichten der einzelnen Staaten an den Führern dieser Verschwörungen solche Exempel statuiren, daß Schrecken die Herzen der Andern erschauern soll, und dann wird dieser Kreuzzug ein Ende nehmen. Sir, wir lassen ihn dadurch niederbrechen, daß wir die Verschwörung und Vereinigung vernichten; dann wird die Sicherheit herrschen."

Ich gestehe, als ich diese Rede las und den Beschluß zu dessen Begründung sie gehalten wurde da stand ich starr vor Schrecken; — nicht als ob ich gestört hätte, daß ein Congreß gefunden werden könnte, der niederträchtig genug wäre, ein solches Gesetz anzunehmen, sondern weil ein Senator gefunden war, welcher die Unverschämtheit besaß, es in den offenen Hallen einer amerikanischen Gesetzgebung zu verteidigen. Dies ist keine bloße rednerische Figur. Ich übertreibe nicht. Sehen wir uns die Sache an. Ein verrätherischer Angriff ist gemacht worden. Die Urheber sind bestraft. Hr. Douglas beantragt ein Gesetz, um eine Wiederholung des Versuchs zu verhindern. Er gibt vor, den Ursprung des verrätherischen Versuchs in den Lehren einer großen nationalen Partei gefunden zu haben. Er beschuldigt die Partei, daß sie einen sectionellen Krieg und Kreuzzug gegen die Institutionen einzelner Staaten führe, und erklärt, daß dieser Kreuzzug durch Reden, Flugblätter, Bücher und Parteipressen geführt werde, — durch Freie, welche im Volke verbreitet werden. Er erklärt, daß es nicht Frieden geben würde, so lange die Ursachen, welche den verrätherischen Versuch hervorgerufen haben, bestehen. Er schlägt vor, diesem Kreuzzug durch Zerstümmung der Verschwörungen und Vereinigungen, durch welche er geführt wird, ein Ende zu machen und zwar will er dies erreichen durch Anklagen und Uebersührungen vor den Bundesgerichten, und dadurch, daß an den Führern solche Exempel statuiert werden, daß die Herzen der Andern von Schrecken ergriffen werden. Er schlägt vor, die Zellen der Gefängnisse für sie zu öffnen, um ein elendes Leben darin hinzuschleppen.

Dieser Vorschlag wird dem Senat der amerikanischen Republik gemacht — nicht durch den König von Neapel, nicht durch den Beizir des türkischen Sultans, nicht durch den Polizeichef des russischen Caren, nicht durch einen der Terroristen der französischen Revolution, — sondern durch einen Senator am 23. Januar des Jahres 1860. Ich will mich nicht damit aufhalten, die republikanische Partei gegen diese Anschuldigungen zu verteidigen. Sie sind so lächerlich, so vollständig unannehmlich, daß sie nicht der Erwägung vernünftiger Menschen werth sind. Gehen wir weiter. Wir wollen die Bedeutung und Tragweite des Beschlusses und der Rede des Hrn. Douglas in Form eines Gesetzes darstellen. Dies würde etwa folgendermaßen lauten:

Section 1. Sei es verordnet u. s. w., daß wenn irgend welche Personen, die in einem Staat oder Territorium wohnen, sich in geschwieblicher Weise vereinigen, oder sich verschwören, mit der Absicht, die Regierung, die Einwohner, das Eigenthum oder die Institutionen irgend eines andern Staates oder Territoriums anzugreifen, zu stören, oder unzufrieden, oder wenn irgend welche Personen in der obigen Absicht eine Zusammenrottung, einen Einfall, eine geschwiebige Aufbruchbewegung oder Versammlung veranstalten,

oder versuchen, gleichviel ob solcher Versuch, Rath oder Drohung von Erfolg ist oder nicht, so sollen solche Personen eines schweren Vergehens schuldig befunden, und nach Uebersührung vor einem Bundesgericht, welchem die Gerichtsbarkeit darüber zusteht, mit einer Strafe nicht über — Dollars oder mit Gefängniß von — Jahren, jedoch nicht über — Jahre bestraft werden; und sie müssen ferner nach Gutdünken des Gerichtshofes angehalten werden für ihr gutes Benehmen mit einer Summe, und für eine Zeit, wie es dem Gerichte beliebt, Bürgschaft zu stellen.

Diese Section würde sich auf die Verschwörungen und Vereinigungen selbst beziehen. Aber Douglas sagt, daß solche verrätherischen Handlungen sich so lange wiederholen werden, wie die Ursachen, auf denen sie beruhen, existiren. Er verlangt demgemäß, daß diese Ursachen aufgehoben werden; dies mag durch die folgende zweite Section geschehen:

Section 2. Und sei es ferner verordnet, daß wenn irgend eine Person, welche Bewohner eines Staates oder Territoriums ist, schreibt, druckt, spricht oder veröffentlicht, oder schreibt, druckt, sprechen oder veröffentlicht läßt, irgend welche ausführenden oder böswilligen Schrift oder Schreife gegen die Regierung, Bewohner, Gesetze, Institutionen anderer Staaten oder Territorien, mit der Absicht, die besagte Regierung u. s. w. zu beschimpfen oder den Haß der Bürger dagegen zu erregen, oder geschwiebige Vereinigungen zum Nachtheil dieser Regierung u. s. w. ins Leben zu rufen oder anzuregen, so sollen solche Personen, wenn sie von einem Bundesgericht, welches Gerichtsbarkeit darüber hat, schuldig befunden werden, mit einer Geldstrafe von nicht mehr als Dollars und Gefängniß von nicht mehr als — Jahren bestraft werden.

Neder vernünftige Mensch wird sofort einsehen, daß diese beiden Sectionen, wie ich sie entworfen habe, nichts enthalten nicht einen einzigen Punkt, nicht einen Ausbruch, welcher nicht direkt und ausdrücklich durch den Beschluß und die Rede des Hrn. Douglas an die Hand gegeben wäre. Zufälliger Weise nun ist ein Gesetz wie dies nicht ohne Beispiel in der Geschichte dieser Republik. Es ist keinesweges neu in unserem Gesetzlande; denn die beiden Sectionen, welche ich Ihnen vorgelegt habe, sind mit gewissenhafter Sorgfalt entworfen worden. Die Vorschläge von Hrn. Douglas sind die buchstäbliche Abdrift des berühmten Aufbruchgesetzes von 1798. Ich habe nur die Worte: „Regierung, Bewohner, Eigenthum anderer Staaten oder Territorien“, statt der Worte: „Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten oder eins der Häuser des Congresses“ hinzugefügt. Alles übrige ist vollständig dasselbe; nein, ich will nicht dem Aufbruchgesetz zu nahe treten. Die in dem Aufbruchgesetze verhängten Freiheitsstrafen sind mäßig, nicht über 2, resp. 5 Jahre hinaus, während Douglas darauf besteht, daß seine Opfer ihr elendes Leben in den Gefängnissen hinschleppen sollen, wozu 10 Jahre kaum hinreichen dürften. Außerdem wurde das Aufbruchgesetz nur für eine sehr beschränkte Zeit erlassen, während Hrn. Douglas verlangt, daß das Verschwörungsgesetz eine dauernde Institution des Landes sein soll. Diese beiden Züge lassen das Aufbruchgesetz als ungemein liberal im Vergleich mit Hrn. Douglas' Verschwörungsgesetz erscheinen.

Vielleicht befinden sich unter uns alte Leute, welche sich noch der Zeit, wo das Aufbruchgesetz erlassen wurde, erinnern, — sie werden uns erzählen, daß eben dies Gesetz, welches dem Aufbruch vorkam, sollte, das Volk an den Rand eines neuen Aufbruchs brachte, Re-

werden uns erzählen, daß Patrioten, welche für die Freiheiten des Volkes litten, an die Nothwendigkeit einer zweiten Revolution dachten. Die Aufregung jener Tage hat ihr Monument in der Geschichte des Landes hinterlassen, — dies Monument sind die Kentucky- und Virginia-Beschlüsse, von Jefferson und Madison entworfen. Diese Beschlüsse waren der laute Schrei patriotischer Herzen gegen den ersten offenkundigen Versuch zur Centralisirung der Macht der Regierung. Die demokratische Partei hat sie wiederholt angenommen. Sie nimmt Jefferson als ihren Vater in Anspruch. Was möchte wohl Jefferson, der Verfasser der Kentucky-Beschlüsse, von seinen entarteten Nachkommen sagen, welche einen Mann zum Präsidentschafts-Candidaten ernannt haben, welcher es versucht, das tyrannischste und empörendste Gesetz der Föderalisten in derselben empörenden Form wieder in's Leben zu rufen? Würde er ihnen nicht sagen, daß sie sich in Betreff ihrer Abstammung in einem gewaltigen Irrthum befänden?

Ich will ihnen die Folgen dieses Gesetzes zeigen, und Sie werden begreifen, warum der Vorläufer derselben so ernsthafte Besorgniß und Unruhe erregte. Bis jetzt haben sich unsere politischen Parteien mit Gründen bekämpft. Die Sieger nahmen Besitz von der constitutionellen Gewalt, und verwalteten die Regierung; aber sie hatten keine Macht, die Rechte und Freiheiten der Besiegten zu verletzen.

Wie auch immer der Kampf der Parteien endete, so wurde doch der Friede des Landes niemals wesentlich gestört; denn die Besiegten wußten, daß ihre persönliche Sicherheit keine Gefahr lief. Dies war das regelmäßige Resultat des mit Gründen geführten Kampfes. Aber man gestatte den politischen Parteien einmal, den Kampf mit Polizeilagern zu führen, man lege die zweischneidige Waffe politischer Verfolgung in ihre Hände, und — wie angenehmen Selbsttäuschungen man sich auch hingeben mag, — die Freiheiten des Volkes werden in Amerika nicht gesichert sein, als sie es in Oesterreich oder Neapel sind.

Es giebt eine Art von Despotismus, welche fürchterlicher ist, als der der Könige, — nämlich der Despotismus der politischen Parteien. Sie streben darnach, den Gegner nicht nur zu schlagen, sondern auch zu unterdrücken. Wie rein auch die ersten Absichten gewesen sein mögen, sie werden in der Hitze des politischen Kampfes, ohne daß sie es selbst gewahr werden, der unabweislichsten Strömung angetrieben werden. Es giebt nur ein Mittel, um dies zu verhindern, und das besteht darin, daß die Mittel zur Unterdrückung und Verfolgung durch scharfe und genaue Begrenzung der Macht der Regierung sorgfältig außer ihrem Bereich gehalten werden.

Sagen Sie nicht, daß diese gefährlichen Verbrechen durch einen Wechsel der Parteien unschädlich gemacht werden können. Unterdrückung erzeugt den Geist der Unterdrückung, die Verfolgung bringt Revolution und Rache, und immer neue und neue Verfolgung hervor. Den Anfang mag man annehmen können, aber das Ende ist nicht zu bestimmen. Die Grundsätze unserer Verfassung haben dies sehr wohl eingezeichnet, sie definirten die Verbrechen, welche unter der Bundesgerichtsbarkeit fallen sollten mit der größten Genauigkeit. Sie bestimmten, daß Verrath gegen die Regierung darin bestehen sollte, daß Krieg gegen die Bez. Staaten geführt würde, und darin, daß man den Feinden dersel-

ben Hülfe und Unterstützung gewährte, und in nichts Anderem; und daß niemand des Verrathes überführt werden sollte, außer durch das Zeugniß zweier Personen, und zwar nicht auf Vereinigung mit verrätherischer Absicht, sondern auf „offenbare That;“ und so wies sie sorgfältig die Idee von „construktivem Verrath“ zurück. Sie wußten wohl, daß die gewöhnlichen Normen des gesetzlichen Verfahrens bei gewöhnlichen Verbrechen nicht auf politische Angelegenheiten anzuwenden seien, bei denen es sich um das Gewissen und die Freiheit der Meinung handelt, weil nämlich das, was in einem Falle Gerechtigkeit wäre, in einem andern Unterdrückung und Tyrannei sein könnte. Doch selbst die constitutionellen Sicherheiten schienen damals dem Volke so ungenügend zu sein, daß sie die Grundrechte und Freiheiten der Bürger in den Zulagen zur Constitution mit einer Schwärze ausdrücklicher Erklärungen umgaben. Daher dieser eifrige, zornige und unnachgiebige Widerstand gegen alle Maßregeln, welche darauf gerichtet waren, die Macht der Regierung den persönlichen Rechten gegenüber zu vergrößern.

Richter Douglas scheint keine Abnung von dem Fundamente zu haben, auf welchem die Sicherheit der Volksherrschaft beruht. Er darf nicht vorgeben, daß er durch dies Gesetz politischen Vergehen vorbeugen wollte, denn er sollte, so gut wie jeder andre vernünftige Mensch, wissen, daß es unter allen Gelegen der Welt, welche der Menschheit die Ketten des Despotismus aufladen, kein einziges gibt, welches nicht auf dem Vorwande beruht, daß politischen Vergehen vorbeugt werden sollte. Verbindung von Unheil war zu allen Zeiten und in allen Ländern die Schlinge, durch welche die Völker an dem Genuße der Freiheit behindert wurden. Vorbeugungsgesetze sind das Gift, mit dem die Freiheit ermorbet wird.

Es wird erzählt, daß vor einer Reihe von Jahren ein amerikanischer Bürger mit dem Fürsten Metternich in Brüssel zusammentraf. Sie wußten, wer Fürst Metternich war. Die Weltgeschichte kennt kaum einen Minister, welcher für mehr Thränen und Flüche zu Boden getretener Völker verantwortlich ist. Der Amerikaner zeigte ihm die Constitution der Bez. Staaten, und befragte ihn um seine Meinung darüber. „An dieser Verfassung fehlt nur Eines,“ sagte der Fürst, „und ich kann das Kaiserthum Oesterreich damit regieren.“ „Was ist das?“ fragte der Amerikaner verwundert. „Es ist die Macht der Centralregierung, Vorbeugungsgesetze zu erlassen.“ Wie schade ist es doch, daß Fürst Metternich todt ist. In Richter Douglas würde er den Mann nach seinem Herzen gefunden haben. Man bringe des Richters Verschönerungsgesetz in unser Gesetzbuch, man erkläre es für constitutionell, und dem Mangel ist abgeholfen. Fürst Metternich ist bereit, nach seiner Wiener Oesterreich mit der Verfassung der Bez. Staaten zu regieren.

Man lege die Macht der Anklage und der Verurtheilung wegen Vereinigungen und verbrecherischen Absichten in Bezug auf politische Angelegenheiten in die Hände unserer Bundesrichter, dieser kaiserlichen Proconsulen, welche sich wichtig dünken, wenn sie ihre Macht zeigen können, und wir haben bald eine kleine Sternkammer in jedem kleinen Gerichtsbezirk, einen kleinen Fouquier Tionville als Staatsankläger und einen kleinen Jeffries als Urtheilsvollzähler. Regierungsspiene werden nach verrätherischen Vereinigungen,

gen schaffeln, wo irgend drei oder vier Personen versammelt sind, und die Zellen der Gefängnisse werden sich mit Männern füllen, welche den Muth haben, über die Sklaverei so zu denken und zu sprechen, wie Washington, Jefferson, Madison und Franklin darüber dachten und sprachen.

Und es giebt wirklich Leute, welche den Mann, der ein solches System der Politik einführen wollte, einen „großen Staatsmann“ zu nennen wagen? Zur Ehre der Südländer sei es gesagt, daß ihm in beiden Fällen, sowohl als er dem Präsidenten die Gewalt über Krieg und Frieden übertragen wollte, wie bei der Einbringung des neuen Auftragsgesetzes die bittere Kränkung widerfuhr, von einem Sklavenhalter zu Boden geschlagen zu werden. In beiden Fällen war es Jefferson Davis, der Führer der Konföderation, welcher den patriotischen Muth besaß, unsere republikanischen Einrichtungen gegen die schwachvollen Pläne des nördlichen Demagogen zu verteidigen.

Aber ein nördlicher Mann hörte ebenfalls mit unwilligem Erstaunen der Douglass'schen Rede zu Gunsten des neuen Auftragsgesetzes zu; das war der brave John Bidman von Pennsylvanien, der Anti-Compensation-Demokrat, der da glaubte, was er sagte. Und als er den Senat verließ, brach er in die Worte aus: „Auf deinem Bayge sollst du gehen und Dreck freffen dein Lebenlang.“

Und wohl mochte er so sprechen, denn der Vorschlag, den die Sklaven im Paradies der Ersten von unserm Geschlecht ins Ohr raunte, war kaum ehrsüßer und höhlicher als der Vorschlag, den Douglass der gegenwärtigen Generation zuwisperte.

Wo hat Hr. Douglass diese Lehren gelernt? — Er ist in Europa gewesen. Unfähig die Mittel zu begreifen, durch welche die Freiheit in diesem Lande bewahrt werden soll, scheint er die Mittel studirt zu haben, wodurch die Leute dort geknechtet werden. Nicht in England, sondern in Frankreich und Rußland fand er viel zu bewundern. (Ich weiß nicht, ob er Oesterreich und Neapel besucht hat.) Er konnte sich im Lächeln des Czaren Nikolaus. Das Lächeln eines Despoten drang ihm leicht ins Herz, und daraus wuchs diese Verschönerungsbill hervor.

Und das ist Einer „größter lebender Staatsmann.“ Wenn das die jetzt herrschende Staatsweisheit ist, dann gute Nacht, theurer erlauchte Freiheit! gute Nacht, du stolze amerikanische Republik! gute Nacht, du großes Leuchttfeuer der kämpfenden Menschheit. Wenn es staatsmännisch ist, die Grundsätze der Konstitution umzusetzen, die Freiheit des Volkes zu untergraben, die Ehrsüßheit der Personen der Gnade einer centralisirten Regierung preiszugeben: dann, in der That, ist er einer der größten, und seine Bildsäule sollte neben der des erluchten Catilina von Rom und des patriotischen Strafford von England errichtet werden. Ich fürchte nicht, daß der Mann, welcher den ehrlosen Versuch gemacht, zur höchsten Würde dieses Freistaats erhoben werden wird, denn ein gerechtes Schicksal hat bereits gegen ihn unwiderruflich entschieden; aber ich fürchte, daß es Tausende giebt, die nicht Muth genug haben, ihn zu brandmarken. Ich berufe mich an Euch, amerikanische Freimänner. Ihr könnt keine aufrichtige Dankbarkeit für die Felsen und Wälder im Herzen hegen, welche diesem Lande die Freiheit gaben, wenn Ihr

keinen Fluch habt für den Mann, der sie durch arglistige Ränke zu untergeben sucht.

Last mich fortfahren. Es scheint, die Politik eines Menschen, der solche Maßregeln bestrafte, müßte entweder aus größter Unwissenheit der Grundlagen, auf welchen sich menschliche Freiheit aufbaut, oder aus angeborener Liebe zu Grundlagen, durch welche sie zerstört wird, entspringen. Es wird deshalb ein wenig überraschen, wenn ich Ihnen sage, daß Douglass' System auf einer tiefkönnigen Philosophie über die einzig sichere Grundlage menschlicher Freiheit beruht. Es ist mir immer als sehr merkwürdig erschienen, und es mag sehr Vielen unter uns so vorgekommen sein, daß Douglass, mit all' seiner Spitzfindigkeit und Fruchtbarkeit in Ausfindungsmitteln äußerst untrüfbar an ursprünglichen Gedanken ist. Alle Reden, die er seit 1854 gehalten, haben den eigenthümlichen Duft der Abgesorbtheit an sich. Sie enthalten nichts als einige feststehende und etwas abgegriffene Gedanken, mit einem klangvollen, hohlen Wortschwall vorgetragen, dessen Hauptreiz in der thierischen Kraft und dem Nachdruck liegt, mit welchem er hervorpußt.

Und hier erlauben Sie mir nebenbei zu bemerken, daß ich ihn für einen der am meisten überschätzten Männer des Landes halte. Aber seine Reden enthalten eine ihm eigenthümliche Idee, — und ich sage Ihnen, eine prächtige. Sie gebt ihm ganz allein an; Niemand hat sie zuvor verteidigt, Niemand wird es später thun. Wir sind des Eindrucks gewesen, Douglass sei es einerlei, ob Sklaverei hinauf- oder niedergestimmt werde; aber wir bitten ihn um Verzeihung — es ist ihm keineswegs einerlei; denn die einzige eigene Idee, deren er sich rühmen kann, ist, daß es Sklaverei geben müsse um der Mannigfaltigkeit willen. (Gelächter). Lachen Sie nicht, ich bitte Sie — es ist eine sehr ernsthafte Sache — es ist das Grundprinzip, worauf die ganze Staatsweisheit von Douglass begründet ist. Und da er der „größte lebende Staatsmann“ ist, verdient es ernsthafte Betrachtung. Er sagt uns, das gerade sei die Ansicht, welche er im ganzen Wahlkampfe in Illinois 1858 verfochten habe; es ist gerade die Grundlage, auf welche er die Nothwendigkeit seiner Verschönerungsbill baut, und er hat es über die ganze Union in zahllosen Reden haustren getragen.

Die ursprüngliche Idee, in seiner eigenen Sprache ausgedrückt, ist einfach folgende:

„Ich behaupte,“ sagt er:

„Daß das große Grundprinzip, welches unserm zusammengesetzten System von Staats- und Bundesverwaltungen unterliegt, Verschiedenheit und Mannigfaltigkeit in örtlichen Einrichtungen und häuslichen Angelegenheiten jedes einzelnen Staates verlangt, der in der Union ist, oder darin aufgenommen werden soll. Ich denke mir deshalb, daß Hr. Lincoln die großen Prinzipien, auf welche unser Government sich stützt, gänzlich mißversteht. Einmüßigkeit in örtlichen und häuslichen Angelegenheiten würde die Rechte der Einzelstaaten zerstören und damit die Souveränität der Staaten, persönliche Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit. Wo auch immer die Lehre der Einmüßigkeit proklamirt wird, daß alle Staaten entweder freie oder Sklavenstaaten sein müssen; daß alle Arbeit entweder von Freien oder von Schwarzen sein müsse; daß alle Bürger der verschiedenen Staaten dieselben Rechte haben, oder von denselben Verordnungen geleitet werden müssen: da hat man die größten Schutzwehren zerstört, welche unsere Institutionen um die Rechte der Bürger erbaunt haben. Von dieser Ansicht werde ich unwiderstehlich zu dem Schlusse getrieben, daß Verschiedenheit, Unähnlichkeit, Mannigfaltigkeit in

all unsern bürgerlichen und häuslichen Angelegenheiten die große Schutzwehr unserer Freiheiten ist. . . Ich wiederhole es, Einseitigkeit unserer Institutionen ist weder möglich, noch wünschenswerth."

Das mag sehr tiefstimmig lauten, aber es bedarf nicht vieler Worte, um zu zeigen, wie äußerst lächerlich es ist. Ihre Meinung über den Staatsmann Douglas sei, welche sie wolle, so erlauben Sie mir die Bemerkung, daß er, sobald er versucht, den Weltweisen zu spielen — um nicht zu stark zu re. en — sehr spaßhaft ist.

Sein Beweis ist der, daß es eine Mannigfaltigkeit der Interessen oder häuslichen Angelegenheiten im Lande giebt; daß eine Mannigfaltigkeit bürgerlicher Institutionen daraus hervordächst; daß auf diese Mannigfaltigkeit von Institutionen unsere Bundesverfassung gegründet ist; daß die Bundesverfassung die große Schutzwehr unserer Freiheiten ist; daß folglich, um unsere Freiheiten zu bewahren, es nöthig wird, eine Mannigfaltigkeit häuslicher Angelegenheiten und bürgerlicher Institutionen zu bewahren. Es entsteht die Frage, wenn diese Mannigfaltigkeit häuslicher Angelegenheiten und bürgerlicher Institutionen nicht bestände, würde das das System der Bundesregierung unmöglich machen? Mit anderen Worten, würde ein Volk, bei dem keine solche Mannigfaltigkeit häuslicher Angelegenheiten und bürgerlicher Institutionen besteht, der Freiheit unfähig sein?

Die ursprünglichen Staaten schlossen eine Union als getrennte Organisationen — ob getrennt auf Grund einer Mannigfaltigkeit von Interessen, oder aus anderen Gründen, ist unnöthig zu untersuchen; denn wenn ihre Institutionen und Interessen auch noch so einseitig gewesen wären, so ist augenscheinlich, daß sie sich hätten consolidiren können und wollen. Aber eine ähnliche Widerlegung der Douglas'schen Lehre liegt näher. Das Volk von Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan und Wisconsin haben fast genau dieselben Verhältnisse — diese Staaten sind alle wesentlich ackerbauende und haben außerdem etwas Schifffahrt auf den großen Seen.

Ihre häuslichen Angelegenheiten und bürgerlichen Institutionen sind wesentlich dieselben. Ihr Arbeitssystem ist dasselbe — keiner hält Sklaven. Die Einseitigkeit der freien Arbeit ward dort durch die Ordnung von '87 eingeführt. Nach Douglas' Lehre müssen sie sich consolidiren, wenn es unter ihnen keine Mannigfaltigkeit häuslicher Angelegenheiten und bürgerlicher Institutionen giebt, die sie auseinander halten. Man möchte einwenden, sie könnten sich jetzt nicht consolidiren, wegen verfassungsmäßiger Hindernisse. Zugestanden unserthalben. Aber dieser große Strich Landes war einmal in eine große, solide Masse consolidirt, das Nordwest-Gebiet genannt. Warum blieb es nicht consolidirt? Warum ward es in verschiedene Territorien und Staaten zerstückelt, da doch ihre häuslichen Interessen dieselben waren, ihre bürgerlichen Institutionen dieselben, ihr Arbeitssystem dasselbe? Da gab es vollkommene Einseitigkeit, und gleichwohl das gerade Gegenheil von Consolidation. Alle diese Dinge blieben wesentlich dieselben. Und wünschen sie nun, sich zu consolidiren? Und ist es nothwendig, eine Hälfte derselben zu Sklavenstaaten zu machen, um sie getrennt zu erhalten? Es ist lächerlich. Aber dies Beispiel

zeigt nicht, daß Hr. Lincoln, sondern daß Hr. Douglas die Quelle, aus der unsere Staatsinstitutionen entspringen, gänzlich mißversteht.

Diese Quelle ist nichts Anderes als der Trieb der Selbstregierung, der unser Volk befeht. Warum zerstückeln wir unsere Staaten in Counties und Townships — sogar solche Staaten, in denen die Interessen und häuslichen Angelegenheiten des Volkes durchaus dieselben sind? Aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil der Naturtrieb der Selbstregierung verlangt, daß alle Einrichtungen, welche das Volk unmittelbar vornehmen kann, in den Händen des Volkes bleiben, und daß alle politische Gewalt, die nicht durch diese unmittelbare Thätigkeit ausgeübt werden kann, so organisiert sei, daß sie der Urquelle der Souveränität so nahe als möglich bleibe. Dies macht solche Theilungen und bürgerliche Organisationen nöthig, welche die unmittelbare Verwaltung der nächstliegenden heimischen Angelegenheiten in die Hände des Volkes selber legen. Die etwas entfernter liegenden Angelegenheiten werden im Allgemeinen den Staatsverwaltungen anvertraut, der Aufsicht des Volkes unterworfen, während noch entferntere Interessen im Allgemeinen in die Hände der Bundesverwaltung gelegt werden. Diese Verzweigung, Theilung und Untertheilung politischer Gewalt wird nicht weniger weit getrieben, wo Einseitigkeit häuslicher Angelegenheiten und bürgerlicher Institutionen herrscht, als wo Mannigfaltigkeit herrscht. Und das wird gerade so lange so bleiben, als das Volk diese Angelegenheiten unter möglichst unmittelbarer Ausübung seiner Oberhoheit verwalten will. Zu behaupten, daß diese Verzweigung politischer Gewalt in eine verwickelte Abstufung von Herrschaften nicht bestehen kann ohne eine Mannigfaltigkeit von Interessen und häuslichen Einrichtungen, wäre so viel als behaupten, daß ein Volk ohne solche Mannigfaltigkeit nicht sein könnte; und solchen Unfuss würde sich sogar ein Schulbube schämen.

Aber nehmen wir einmal an, die Mannigfaltigkeit der Interessen wäre wirklich ein so unerlässlicher Pfeiler unserer Institutionen der Selbstregierung — ist Richter Douglas unbekannt mit dem Unterschied zwischen dem gewerthätigen Massachusetts und Connecticut und dem handelsreibenden New-York — zwischen dem bergbauenden Pennsylvania und dem ackerbauenden Illinois? Aber diese Art Mannigfaltigkeit genügt Douglas nicht — darin ist noch zu viel Einseitigkeit. Er besteht darauf, daß wo die „Lehre der Einseitigkeit“ proklamirt ist, daß alle Staaten entweder freie oder Sklavenstaaten sein müssen, daß alle Arbeit weiße oder schwarze sein müsse, — daß da unsere Freiheiten verloren gehen, deswegen wir mehr Mannigfaltigkeit brauchen. Die Mannigfaltigkeit von ackerbauenden und handelsreibenden, bergbauenden und industriellen Erzeugnissen ist armelig ungenügend. Es muß — er will's so haben — auch die Mannigfaltigkeit der Sklaverei und Freiheit geben, der weißen und der schwarzen Arbeit — und dies scheint seine Lieblingsmischung zu sein, seine mittelpunktliche, grundsätzliche und unentbehrliche Mannigfaltigkeit. Wir haben nicht nur kein Recht, einseitig freie Arbeit zu bearründen, indem wir uns in Staatsrechte mischen; sondern ganz im Allgemeinen — das Erbsich seiner Lieblings-Varietät wäre weder möglich noch wünschenswerth. Er erklärt es für eine verderbliche Kezerei zu proklamiren,

daß zwischen den verschiedenen Staaten der Union Einfrörmigkeit herrschen solle oder könne. Es wäre also, nach Douglas nicht wünschenswerth, daß freie Arbeit irgendwo allein herrschen sollte, denn das würde Einfrörmigkeit schaffen. „Einfrörmigkeit ist der Tod der Freiheit.“

Und nun bemerken Sie dieses wunderbohe Gemisch von Unförmigkeit im Korfe dieses „größten lebenden Staatsmannes“ — unsere Freiheiten beruhen auf unserm System der Bundesregierung; unsere Bundesregierung beruht auf der Mannigfaltigkeit der Institutionen; diese Mannigfaltigkeit der Institutionen besteht darin, daß in einigen der Staaten Sklaverei herrscht. Wenn Sklaverei verschwindet, verschwindet unser System der Bundesregierung; verschwindet das, so würden die Schutzweden unserer Freiheiten zerstört — folglich, wenn Sklaverei verschwindet, verschwindet auch die Freiheit.

Stimwieder, wenn alle Staaten frei wären, so wäre Einfrörmigkeit; aber Einfrörmigkeit in häuslichen und örtlichen Angelegenheiten würde die persönliche Freiheit zerstören — diese Einfrörmigkeit wird verbütet durch das Bestehen der Sklaverei, folglich verbindet das Bestehen der Sklaverei die Zerstörung der Freiheit; oder Freiheit kann nur durch die Bewahrung der Sklaverei bewahrt werden.

Welche Wohlthäter dieses Landes waren jene, welche Sklaverei hier einföhrten, denn sie lieferten den Stoff, aus dem die notwendige Mannigfaltigkeit, ohne welche Freiheit nicht bestehen kann, sich erschafft. Hätten sie das nicht gethan, so wären alle Staaten frei; dann herrschte Einfrörmigkeit, und wir wären alle Sklaven. Welcher Unförm, den Sklavenhandel abzuschaffen! Je mehr Sklaven, desto mehr Mannigfaltigkeit — desto mehr Freiheit! (Lautes Gelächter.)

Wie müssen wir die unglücklichen Nationen bedauern, die keine Sklaverei unter sich haben; denn sie haben keine Mannigfaltigkeit der Einrichtungen und so können sie keine Freiheit haben. Arme Leute, die keine Sklaven unter sich haben — sie können niemals frei sein. (Betäubendes Gelächter.)

Es ist überausbedeutend, daß diese große, lichtvolle Lehre von der Mannigfaltigkeit so wenig bekannt war zur Zeit, als unsere Regierung organisiert und die Konstitution abgefaßt wurde. Es gab damals zwei Individuen, die etwas Weniges von Auf hatten wegen ihrer Staatsweisheit, von denen einer sagte: „ich verlasse mich darauf, wir werden einen Bund von freien Staaten bekommen“, und der andere: „nichts ist gewisser im Buch des Schicksals verknüpft, als daß diese Leute (die Sklaven) frei werden müssen“. Und die nannte man Staatsmänner!

Welchen ungeheuren Fortschritt haben wir in diesen sechzig Jahren gemacht! Sie würden heute Einförmigkeit und Verräther geheißen werden; denn entweder mußten sie nichts von der großen Mannigfaltigkeitslehre — was sehr thöricht war — oder wenn sie davon wußten, so verschworen sie sich zur Zerstörung der Volksfreiheit, indem sie Einförmigkeit predigten — was höchst verrätherisch war. Nebenbei — der Name des Einen war George Washington und der des Anderen Thomas Jefferson. (Großes Gelächter.)

Wir müssen gestehen, daß wir uns in diesen beiden geirrt haben. Wie schade, daß Richter Douglas nicht damals gelebt hat! Wie würde er seine große Man-

nigfaltigkeitslehre ihnen um die Ohren geschlagen haben! Wie hätte er Washington beibringen können, welches die Grundlage unserer Bundesregierung ist. Wie würde er Jefferson es angedrungen haben, wa² die großen Schutzweden der Freiheit sind! (Gelächter.)

Aber ach, solche Staatsmänner werden nicht nur mitunter zur Unzeit, sondern auch am unzeitigen Orte geboren. Wie schade, daß Richter Douglas nicht in der Schweiz lebt, der Ältesten jetzt bestehenden Republik! Diese verfinsterten Leute, die Schwärzer, haben Jahrhunderte lang in der abgeschmackten Täuschung gelebt, daß sie frei wären und ein System der Bundesregierung hätten! Aber es gibt ja in der Schweiz keine Sklaverei — folglich auch nicht die notwendige Mannigfaltigkeit von Einrichtungen. Wie kann man bei Einfrörmigkeit eine Bundesregierung haben? Wie Freiheit ohne Mannigfaltigkeit? Unmöglich! Arme, unschuldisge Seelen! Sie denken, sie seien frei, und sie haben keine Sklaven! Richter Douglas sollte sofort als Missionär hingehen, um sie frei zu machen! Dabei wird er Gelegenheit finden, seine andere große Originaltheorie zu probiren, „daß jeder politische Glaube rational falsch sei, den man nicht überall verstanden kann“. Ich wage zu prophezeien, daß jeder erbliche Schweizerische Stiefel sich erheben und der große Barletäus Donaldis, ehrerbietig von Alp zu Alp besüßtritten wird.

Jetzt sehe man die seltsamen Inconsequenzen an, in welche diese Mannigfaltigkeitslehre uns unvermeidlich stürzt. Die Nothwendigkeit, die Sklaverei zu bewahren um der Freiheit willen — d. i. die Mannigfaltigkeit der Institutionen zu bewahren — war die Hauptgrundlage, auf die er seine Verschwörungsbau errichtete. Derselbe Mann, der uns lehrt, daß Sklaverei bewahrt werden muß, weil ihre Erbschen Einfrörmigkeit erzeugen würde, was wieder eine konsolidirte despotische Regierung hervorbringen müßte — derselbe bekräftigt eine Maßregel, welche der Regierung Vollmacht bringt, welche sie auf die Bahn der Konsolidirung bringen. Denn ohne das Zugeständniß dieser Vollmacht, ohne diese That der Konsolidirung kann die Sklaverei nicht erhalten werden.

Nach ihm zu schließen, muß Sklaverei durch eine Maßregel erhalten werden, welche der Volksfreiheit gefährlich ist; denn wenn Sklaverei nicht bewahrt bleibt, muß Einfrörmigkeit erfolgen und die Freiheit des Volkes kommt in Gefahr. Mit anderen Worten: er sagt uns, das Bestehen der Sklaverei sei nöthig zur Bewahrung unserer Rechte und Freiheiten, und dann sagt er uns wieder, daß eine unsere Rechte und Freiheiten untergrabende Maßregel zur Erhaltung der Sklaverei unerlässlich ist. Die Mannigfaltigkeit muß aufrecht erhalten bleiben um unserer Freiheit willen, und unsere Freiheit muß vernichtet werden, um die Mannigfaltigkeit zu bewahren. (Gelächter.)

Wir sind dem Richter Douglas wirklich sehr verbunden. Endlich wissen wir einmal, wozu die Sklaverei gut ist, und warum ihr Bestehen weder möglich noch wünschenswerth ist. Sogar der Neger in seinen Leiden wird in der Weltweisheit des Hrn. Douglas Trost und Balsam finden.

Wenn unten im Süden Sambo gepeitscht wird und die Peitsche seinen Rücken zerfleischt, wird der wohlwollende Richter dem armen Burschen sagen, daß er um der Mannigfaltigkeit willen gepeitscht wird (Gelächter) und Sambo wird lächeln im süßen Bewußt-

„... für ein großes Principel gepreßt zu werden. (Lachen.) Und wenn Douglas' Will erlassen ist, wenn er für Sie die Gefängnisse eröfnet hat, worin er verbindlich Sie einladet, „zum Ihr elendes Leben hinzuschleppen,“ so werden Sie mit Stolz des alten römischen Sprichworts sich erinnern: „Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!“ Und es noch verbessert, werden Sie ausrufen: es ist sehr süß und ehrenvoll, um der Mannigfaltigkeit willen zu sterben!“ (Großes Gelächter.)

Das also wäre Richter Douglas' Staatsweisheit — nicht ein gelegentlich in einer Rede fallen gelassener Gedanke, sondern seine große Originalerfindung. Dieser leichte, lächerliche, kindische Unsinn wird von ihm nachdrücklich als Grundlehre seiner ganzen Staatsweisheit verkündet. O, Ihr Douglas Demokraten, wie stolz müßt Ihr sein auf Euern „größten lebenden Staatsmann“. Erlaubt mir, Euch im Namen der republikanischen Partei, unsere aufrichtigen Glückwünsche darzubringen. (Gelächter und Beifall.)

Meine Herren! Sie haben meine Bemerkungen mit einigen Beweisen der Euphorie begleitet, und es läßt sich wirklich nicht leugnen, daß etwas von des berühmten Dogberry Eifeln in des Hrn. Douglas' philosophischen Lehren ist. Aber die Sache ist ernst. Sehen Sie wohl, daß bis zu einem gewissen Grade die Ehre des Landes darin verwickelt ist? Dieser Herr steht als ein Bewerber um die Präsidentschaft vor uns, und er wird für „größten amerikanischen Staatsmann“ ausgegeben.

Und nun bitte ich Sie, ich beschwöre Sie feierlich — denn es giebt Niemanden hier, dem die Ehre dieses Landes tiefer am Herzen liegt, als mir — ich beschwöre Sie, machen Sie diese Republik nicht in den Augen der ganzen Welt lächerlich, indem sie die Dogberry'sche Staatsweisheit mit der höchsten Ehrenstelle der Republik krönen. Ich scherze nicht; es ist mir tiefer und feierlicher Ernst; denn wenn Sie die Riste Derer überfluten, welche seit Gründung des Freistaats einer Abhimmlung für die Präsidentschaft werth befunden wurden, so finden Sie keinen darunter, der hinterlistigere Pläne gesponnen hat, die Grundzüge der Verfassung zu untergraben, der mehr gethan hat, das Gewissen des Volkes zu entzitteln, mehr um amerikanische Staatsmänner in Verruf zu bringen, als er. Nun, ich will dem Herrn Douglas nicht Unrecht thun; es gab noch Einen, ich meine Aaron Burr. Er war noch gefährlicher, denn er vereinigte mit einem verdorbenen Herzen einen weit überlegenen Verstand.

Was aber Judge Douglas betrifft, so stehe ich hier auf vor dem großen Schwornengericht des souveränen Volkes und erhebe meine Anklagen.

Ich klage ihn an, seine Stellung zum Missouri-Verbot mehrmals im Interesse der Sklaverei verändert zu haben;

Ich klage ihn an, die verpöbete Treue des Volkes durch Abschaffung des Vertrags von 1820 gebrochen zu haben;

Ich klage ihn an, die schrecklichsten Verletzungen des Stimmrechts vertheidigt, die heiligsten Rechte des Volkes von Kansas mit Füßen getreten zu haben, so lange der Kampf zwischen Freiheit und Sklaverei zweifelhaft war;

Ich klage ihn eines Betrugs am Volke an, indem er den Grundsatz der Volkssouveränität fälschlich und ver-

drehte, und ihn zum Werkzeuge der Sklaverei-Ausbreitung machte;

Ich klage ihn an, die Sache des freien Kanals verlassen zu haben, als das Volk, nach Erfüllung aller vernünftigen Bedingungen, um Zulaß in die Union einkam.

Ich klage ihn an, daß er wiederholt versucht hat, das System constitutioneller Schranken und Gleichgewichte zu verletzen, indem er das Recht, Krieg zu veranlassen, in die Hände des Präsidenten legen wollte.

Ich klage ihn des Versuchs an, etwas Schändlicheres als das Aufruhrgezet von 1798, seine Verschwörungsbill, einzuführen, nämlich die Freiheit der Rede und Presse politischer Inquisition preiszugeben und die Befolgung von Meinungen, zum Muster unserer Politik zu erheben.

Ich klage ihn endlich an, dem Volke eine philosophische Lehre aufzudrängen zu wollen, welche eine Verleumdung der Volkssouveränität ist. Nein — ich bitte um Verzeihung. Deswegen klage ich ihn nicht an, denn dies ist ein freies Land, wo Jeder das Recht hat, sich so sehr lächerlich zu machen als er wünscht, immer der Constitution der Ver. Staaten unterworfen. (Lantes Gelächter.) Und dennoch klage ich ihn auch deswegen an, denn ich bestehe darauf, daß er kein Recht hat, die Republik zugleich mit lächerlich zu machen.

Dies ist die Anklage. Das Volk hat das Urtheil zu sprechen.

Meine Herren! Werden Sie die Geduld haben, noch ein paar Worte über Douglas, „den Präsidentschaftscandidaten“ zu hören? Nun denn, nach diesen Heldenthaten hielt er sich für fähig, demokratischer Candidat für die Präsidentschaft zu werden, und so kam sein Name vor die Convention in Charleston. Doch merkwürdiger Weise schien die ganze südliche Demokratie gegen ihn vereinigt zu sein, und erklärte erklirlich, daß ich glaube, daß die Sklavereimacht unrecht handelte. Sie möchten vielleicht ein vermorseneres und anspruchsloseres Werkzeug finden, aber schwerlich durften sie hoffen ein frecheres, rücksichtsloseres und gewissenloseres zu finden. Was war der Grund ihrer Opposition? Waren es die constitutionellen Streitereien, um die sie sich rannten? Der ganze Unterschied ist ein rein eingebildeter. Dachten die Sklavhalter vielleicht, daß ein Mann, welcher seinen eigenen Theil des Landes betrogen hatte, nicht zuverlässig in seinen Besprechungen gegen den andern Theil wäre? Das würde von Seiten der Sklavhalter, die von einem solchen Gefühl geleitet wurden, mehr ehrenhaft, als richtig gewesen sein. Nein, ich glaube, daß der wahre Grund ein weit verschiedener ist, und dieser beweist, daß Mr. Douglas niemals Schärffinn genug besaß, um seine eigene Stellung zu begreifen. Die Sklavemacht läßt sich zuweilen um der Zweckmäßigkeit willen herab, einen nördlichen Mann zum Präsidenten zu machen, wenn er sich um unbedingten Werkzeug hergeben will, aber sie wird niemals einen Mann erheben, der darnach strebt, Führer der Partei zu sein oder zu werden. Mr. Douglas hätte dies wissen sollen. Da lag sein Irrthum. Wie bereitwillig er auch sein mochte, ihnen zu dienen, er sollte ihnen in ihrer, nicht in seiner Weise dienen. Er offerirte Unabhängigkeit und fiel.

Ich glaube, der Süden handelte gegen sein eigenes Interesse, denn am Richter Douglas würden sie einen Präsidenten gehabt haben, der vor nichts zurückbebt

wäre, um ihre Gunft wieder zu gewinnen. Ich bin überzeugt, daß er ein noch größ'rer Ultra-Prosklaverei-Präsident gewesen sein würde, als Breckinridge oder Jefferson Davis oder Seward, und ich wünsche, daß sie sich noch entschließen möchten, ihn anzunehmen, damit jedermann an seinem rechten Platz wäre.

Sie sehen, daß wir uns nicht vor Ihren Vereinigungen fürchten. Doch der Irrthum war einmal einmal begangen. Sie widersetzten sich ihm auf's Aeußerste, und Richter Douglas sah, daß seine Ernennung in Charleston eine Unmöglichkeit war. Da beantragten seine Freunde eine Vertagung der Convention und setzten sie durch. Sie sollten einige Woche später in Baltimore wieder zusammentreten. Inzwischen gewährte Hr. Douglas eine letzte Möglichkeit, den Süden zu gewinnen. Er griff mit verzweifelter Begierde danach, und da er den großen Preis seinen Händen entschlüpfen sah, so setzte er Alles auf den letzten Wurf. Am 15. und 16. Mai erhob er sich im Senate, und in einer seiner sorgfältigsten Reden stellte er folgende Behauptung auf. Douglas-Democraten, ich ersuche euch um eure besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Hört:

„Es ist ein Theil der Geschichte dieses Landes, daß unter dieser Lehre der Nicht-Intervention, — die ihr auch gern Squatter-Souveränität nennt — das Volk von Neu-Mexico die Sklaverei in jenes ganze Territorium eingeführt und erhalten hat; unter jener Lehre haben sie ein freies Territorium in Sklaventerritorium verwandelt, welches fünfmal so groß wie der Staat New-York ist. Unter dieser Lehre ist die Sklaverei nicht nur bis 36 Grad 30 Minuten, sondern bis 38 Grad ausgebreitet worden, so daß die Sklavengebiete 1½ Grad mehr zugefallen sind, als es jemals beansprucht hat. Jeder Zoll freien Bodens, der seit der Revolution auf dem amerikanischen Festlande in Sklavengebiet verwandelt wurde, ausgenommen Neu-Mexico und Virginien, wurde es durch den Grundsatz der Nichtintervention, welcher in Charleston bestätigt wurde. Wenn es wahr ist, daß dieser Grundsatz der Nichtintervention die Sklaverei in jener verhältnißmäßig nördlichen und kalten Gegend beschützt hat, könnt ihr dann nicht demselben Grundsatze weiter im Süden vertrauen, wenn ihr neues Gebiet von Mexico erwerbt? Wird nicht derselbe Grundsatz die Sklaverei in den neuen Staaten Mexico's beschützen, sobald sie erworben sind, zumal da sie jetzt vom Sklavengebiet vollständig umringt sind?“

D ihr Douglassmänner, was für eine Lehre ist dies! Sagtet ihr uns nicht damals als die Nebraskabill angenommen wurde, daß dies die wirksamste Wette sei, um die freie Arbeit in die Territorien einzuführen? Habt ihr uns nicht Tag für Tag seit 1854 auf's Feierlichste versichert, daß das Prinzip der Volkssouveränität, wie es von Hrn. Douglas erklärt wurde, sicherlich alle Territorien vor dem Hinzukommen der Sklaverei schützen würde? Und nun seht her! Euer eigener Herr und Meister steht zu, erkennt an, rühmt sich sogar, daß dieser nemliche Grundsatz der Sklaverei 1½ Breitengrade mehr verschafft hat, als sie jemals beanspruchte, und daß seit der Errichtung der amerikanischen Republik nicht ein Quadratkfuß freien Bodens in Sklavengebiet verwandelt wurde, es sei denn durch eben jene Maßregel, die ihr uns als die größte und zuverlässigste Hilfe für die freie Arbeit rühmet! Euer eigener Herr und Meister sagt es der ganzen Mittel- und Nachwelt in's Gesicht, daß ihr auf die unverschämteste Weise gelogen habt, — gelogen Tag für Tag während der letzten sechs Jahre, das war grausam, nicht wahr ihr Douglassiten des Nordens?

Nein; ich scherze nicht. Das war entsetzlich grausam. Alles was er gesagt hat ist sicherlich, unabweislich und unüberleglich wahr; aber ich sage, daß wenn er die geriatste Achtung vor seinen Freunden gehabt hätte, — das geringste Mitgefühl für ihren Kummer und ihre Noth, so hätte er, gerade er der Letzte auf der Welt sein müssen, der eine solche Behauptung öffentlich ausgesprochen. Wußte er nicht, daß ihr ihn unterstützt und ihm Freunde geworden hattet unter dem falschen Vorwande, daß sein großes Prinzip die Ausschließung der Sklaverei aus den Territorien erzielen würde? Wußte er nicht, daß ihr eure Ehre für die Wahrheit und Wahrhaftigkeit jenes Vorwandes eingesetzt hattet? Er mußte es wohl; er hatte euch dazu ermuntert, und nachdem ihr euch Tag für Tag für ihn vor den Augen der ganzen Welt combromittirt habt, wendet er sich ab, und stempelt euch ohne Weiteres zu Lügneren. O, das war ungroßmüthig! Es war gemein, — sehr gemein, — unausbrechlich gemein. Wenn eure anspöthische Freundschaft den geringsten Wiederhall in seinem Herzen erweckt hätte, so hätte er nicht so gegen euch handeln dürfen. Doch dies Herabsinken von so undurchdringlicher Selbstsucht erfüllt zu sein, — so aller höheren Regungen der Menschennatur bar, — daß wenn seine Freunde, wie Broderick für ihn sterben, er sie kaltblütig verleugnet, und daß er sie, wenn sie für ihn lügen, ohne Zaudern der Schande preisgibt. Er verleugnet sie, er giebt sie der Schande preis. Und warum das? Um die verlorne Gunft der Südens wiederzuerwerben, um das verlorne Pächel der Sklavemacht wiederzugewinnen. Und ihnen gehorcht zu werden, was das der Lohn, den ihr auf seinen Händen verdient habt?

Seht ihn euch noch einmal an. Seht, da steht er vor den Sklavenhaltern im Senat der Ver. Staaten, und verschachtet eure Ehre für ihre Gunft. „Wer hat euch jemals treuer gedient, als ich mit meinem großen Grundsatze?“ so fragt er sie. Warum loßt ihr nicht meine Freunde im Norden jenes Princip als den Hüter der Freiheit aufpuffen? Die Narren glauben vielleicht selbst, was sie logen; wir aber wissen es besser. Seht ihr denn nicht das Meistat? Warum moßt ihr mir nicht den unschuldigen Spas gönnen, den Leuten im Norden aufzubinden, daß ich der große Fortkämpfer der Freiheit bin?“ Ab, ihr Douglassmänner, was für ein Anblick ist dies! Er hat euch geschändet, und jetzt verkündet er eure Schmach. Wie gefällt euch die Stellung, in die er euch gebracht hat? Wie gefällt euch der Schandpfahl, an dem er mit seiner eignen Händen eure Ohren festgenagelt hat? Und ich seib willig, dazustehen, — ruhig dazustehen vor den Augen aller Welt! Hört ihr nicht zuweilen eine ernste Stimme in eurem Innern, welche von Selbstachtung und Manneswürde spricht? Sagt sie euch niemals, daß die Schamröthe der schönste Schmutz eurer Wangen sein würde?

Meine Freunde, ich achte zwar Alles, was der Menschennatur angebört, aber wenn mitunter in einem unbewachten Augenblicke eine Wolke der Verödung in mir aufsteigt, so geschieht es bei dem Anblick dieser freiwilligen Selbsterniedrigung, für die selbst Unwissenheit und Irrthum kaum als Entschuldigung dienen können.

Seht da euren Herrn und Meister, wie er sich vor der Sklavemacht niederwirft — in den Staub, vor

euern übermüthigen Gegnern. Ihr Muth nicht mehr sagen, daß ihr an seiner Seite steht; denn seit jenem Tage steht er selbst nicht mehr. Wenn ihr denn noch mit ihm sein wollt, zu den Füßen der Sklavennacht, wo er liegt, — so legt euch zu ihm. Und was thaten die Sklavenhalter, nachdem er sich selbst so tief gedemüthigt, und seine Freunde niedergeschlagen hatte? Köchelten sie ihm zu? Ja wohl, sie thaten es, aber mit Verachtung, und sprachen: „Wir liebten Deinen Rath gut genug, aber wir wissen den Verräther mit Verachtung von uns;“ und da liegt er heute noch.

Die Zeit der Baltimorer Convention nahte heran, und der Kampf begann von neuem. Es wurde sofort klar, daß Douglass' Ernennung der demokratischen Partei nicht anders aufgedrungen werden konnte, als durch eine Spaltung jener Organisation; und er sah es gut genug ein, daß in diesem Falle seine Erwählung unmöglich sein würde. Der Süden trat in Masse zurück und überließ es der Rumpf-Convention, nach ihrem Belieben zu handeln. Als Mr. Douglass nun sah, daß seine schwachvolle Niederlage unvermeidlich war, da schrieb er an seine Freunde in der Convention, und forderte sie auf, seinen Namen zurückzuziehen, wenn sie es mit der Ehre verträglich hielten. Und ich erkläre, wenn Douglass jemals ehrlich in seinen Handlungen oder in seinen Worten war, daß er es da und damals war.

Jetzt aber war der Augenblick gekommen, wo es sich offenbarte, daß es Gerechtigkeit in der Geschichte giebt. Douglass' Stellung war etelast, aber seine Strafe war erhaben. Damals weigerten sich seine Freunde zum ersten Male, seinem Befehle zu gehorchen. Diejenigen, welche er so oft und so lange zu seiner Erhöhung benutzt hatte, haben jetzt eine letzte Auskunft, ihn zu ihren Zwecken zu benutzen. Sie sagten ihm: „Wir haben unsern Theil des Contractes erfüllt; jetzt erfülle Du den deinigern. Wir haben dich zum Präsidenten nominirt; jetzt mußt Du uns gestatten, daß wir uns mit Hilfe deines Namens zu Congressmitgliedern, Sheriffs, County Clerks oder Constablen erwählen lassen. Du darfst nicht zurück! Hurrah für die Venie!“

„Glaubst Du, weil Du plötzlich tugendhaft wurdest,

Es soll' keinen Kuckern und Ale mehr geben?

Ja, bei St. Ann! und heißen Ginger dazu!“ —

Und der Sattel der Rumpfnomination wurde ihm auf den Rücken gelegt, und der gespensterhafte Haufe der Reiterjäger sprang hinauf; der leuchtenden blutenden Mähre werden die Sporen in die Seiten gedrückt, die Peitsche fällt auf ihren Rücken, und so geht der Geisterritt fort, gen Ost und gen West, bei Tag und bei Nacht. Mag der Gaul zum Teufel gehen, wenn nur die Reiter ihre Herberge erreichen.

Ob, es giebt eine Gerechtigkeit in der Geschichte. Er hat endlich das Ideal seiner Träume, den Gegenstand seiner innigsten Wünsche, um dessentwillen er so manchen verrätherischen Plan geschmiedet und so manchen Pargelbaum geschlagen, um dessentwillen er so manchen Streich gegen den Frieden der Republik geführt, um dessentwillen er sich und seine Anhänger so oft herabgewürdigt, um dessentwillen er so manchen Bummer umarmt und so manchen achtbaren Mann beleidigt hat, um dessentwillen er jede Brandyschenke zu seinem Hauptquartier und jeden Stroich zu seinem Freund gemacht hat — er hat endlich die Nomination

zur Präsidentschaft; aber das monach er wie nach einem Segen gierig gelangert, ist als ein Fluch über ihn gekommen; nominirt zu sein und zu wissen, daß seine Erwählung unmöglich ist! Stimmen zu empfangen und zu wissen, daß jede Stimme für ihn eine für Brechtiridge oder Lane ist, welche er haßt, und jede Stimme gegen ihn eine für Lincoln, den er nicht liebt! Stimmen zu empfangen und von der Ueberzeugung durchdrungen zu sein, daß diejenigen, welche für ihn arbeiten, nicht für ihn, sondern für sich selbst wickeln! Todt zu sein und doch lebendig genua, um sich des Todes bewußt zu sein! Ob, es giebt eine Gerechtigkeit in der Geschichte! Uebertreibe ich etwa? Wo ist er, jener mächtige Führer dessen Stimme einst Millionen tief ins Feld? An den Straßencken und Kreuzwegen steht man ihn stehen wie einen blauen gesunkenen Bektar — nicht aber tugendhaft, arm, — umringt von einem Kubel ärmlicher Politiker und steht ihn betteln um das erbärmliche Almosen eines Botums, betteln bei den Knorr-Nothings, welche er einst zu vortreten affectirte, betteln bei den Wbigs, die er einst mit seinen lärmenden Verschuligungen beleidigte, und hört ihn den Geist Henry Clay's anrufen, den er einst eine schwarze Beräthbersele nannte. Aber armer Bektar! Die Parteiwegen, die ihn mit ihrem lärmenden Gebettel umringen, stehlen ihm jede Stimme, die sie für ihn empfangen und stecken sie in ihre Taschen.

Wo ist der Mäne, mächtige Agitator, dessen Stimme so trozig auf jedem bestrittenen Felde erröthete? Seht ihn auf seiner empfindsamen Reite, umsonst nach seiner Mutter Heimath suchend und nach seines Vaters Grabe, mit selbsthafter Ziererei für sein unverlangtes und unankündigtes Erscheinen vor dem Volke sich entschuldigend; wie einer der verdammten Geister, von denen Ihr in den Sagen vergangener Zeiten leset, rastlos die Welt durchzuwandern, zu einer schrecklichen Strafe als Tausch verdammt, der von einem unlöslichen Durst gequält war, während Wasser und Traube dicht bei ihm sich fanden — schrecklicher als die Danaiden, die Wasser in ein Sieb zu gießen hatten, — denn er muß jene alte Rede immer und immer wiederholen. (Lebhafter Beifall.) So oft er in einem Hotel ankam, das einen Balcon hat, wird seine eilige Reise durch eine freiwillige Versammlung aufgehalten, in der sie eine unterirdische Geisterstimme ausrufen hören: „mein großes Princip der Nichtintervention“ — das ist der todt Squatter - Souverän, der die äbeln Thaten seines leiblichen Lebens süßet. (Langes Gelächter.) Nicht vor langer Zeit machte er die Eisenbahnen und die Clambates von Neuengland unsicher, dann wieder die Kreuzwege des Südens, und seine geisthafte Erscheinung ward zuletzt hierberum gesehen. (Langes Gelächter.) Wo ist der furchtbare Parteityrann, dessen Wünsche Befehle waren, der gebilligte Verträge umstieß mit einer Fingerbewegung; dessen blaßes Niden die Häupter ihm Mißfälliger in den Korb rollen ließ, dessen Grillen ebensoviele Stichworte der Demokraten waren? Wo ist er, der einst, gleich Macbeth sich unverwundbar durch Menschen glaubte, die vom Weibe geboren sind; unbesiegbar groß

„bis Birnam's Wald

Nach Dunfinan-Hügel ge. en ihn vorrückt?“

Wie Macbeth hat er geglaubt den

„Höllenshunden, die ihn mit Doppelftun geüßt“

und da steht er nun, an den Pfahl seiner Nomination gebunden.

„Er kann nicht fliehen

Und köstlich muß er seinen Gang durchsetzen.“

Aber wie Birnam-Wald gegen Dunsinan vorrückte, so rücken die Fenzriegel von Illinois gegen ihn (fürchterliches Gelächter und Jubel) und wie Macduff erhebt gegen ihn der Geist der freien Arbeit, dem er ein Kind gemordet, und der ein Kämpfe ist, nicht „vom Weibe geboren.“ (Gelächter.) Und nun

Drauf, Macduff!

Berdämmt sei wer zuerst schreit: halt! — genug!

(Neues Gelächter und Jubel) O, es gibt Gerechtigkeit in der Geschichte!

Der selbe Verrath an der Sache der freien Arbeit — die Redrahtabstahl, die seine Stufe zur Gewalt werden sollte, erwies sich als den Abgrund, der seine Ehre, seine Mannheit, seine Stärke und Hoffnungen verschlang. Giebt es Leute, welche das Urtheil der Geschichte zu vernichten gedenken? Eitles Unterfangen! Der Mann ist von der Hand der ewigen Vergeltung gemarkt. Auf seiner Stirn steht die verhängnißvolle, Schrift: Versuche Niemand, die Hand der höchsten Gerechtigkeit, anzuhalten! Ihr könnt ihn nicht vom Sturz retten. Warum verküsst Ihr Euch so, seine Schwach zu theilen? Führer der Douglas-Demokratie, was soll Euer hohle Prahlerei mit Eurer Kraft bedeuten? Ihr könnt Andre nicht täuschen, was arbeitet Ihr so schwer, um Euch selbst zu täuschen? Ihr wißt, Eure Redner suchen bloß einen Leichnam in künstliches Erben zurück zu galvanisiren. Ihr wißt es wohl, daß Eure Massenversammlungen nur ungeheure galvanische Batterien sind. Denkt Ihr der Art das Schicksal um seinen Hock zu betrügen? Ist es Euer Ehrgeiz, daß Eure Nachkommen in der Geschichte unserer Tage lesen sollen, daß es 1860 so verdorbene Menschen gab, welche, weil sie nicht das Uebel durchgehen konnten, wenigstens das Gute zu verhindern suchten?

Und ihr, welchen die heilige Stimme des Gewissens lehrte, daß ihr mit der Unterstützung von Douglas Unrecht thut, und doch dem Parteireißel gehorcht, hört mich: ist diese Parteilichkeit so allmächtig, daß ihr diesem Götzen eure Unabhängigkeit, Mannheit und all' euren sittlichen Werth opfern wollt?

Und ihr, die das ausschließliche Vorrecht anspricht, auf die Verfassung und die Gesetze zu schwören, wollt ihr den Farnes der Heuchelei euch anprägen, indem ihr mittelbar den unterstüßt, der mehr als jeder Lebende gethan hat, die Constitution zu untergraben und die Gesetze zu verbrehen? Wollt ihr von engen politischen Krämmern nicht nur eure Stimmen verschauern lassen, sondern auch Eure Gewissen und Eure Ehre?!

Doch laßt die Verschwörer heran kommen; wir tragen ihnen. Macht fort mit euren Vereinigungen, die unter der Bedingung abgeschlossen werden, daß diejenigen, welche sich heute vereinigen, morgen einander betrügen. Ist es ein leitender Grundslag in euren Parteien geworden, daß die Leute in Reich' und Glied keine Rechte haben, welche die Führer zu beachten brauchen? Ihr werdet einen Irrthum einsehen. Blickt um euch! Seht ihr die Tausende, welche eure Fahnen verlassen, unwillig, sich

eurem verrätherischen Plane zu unterwerfen, das Volk um seine Wahl zu betrügen? Wißt ihr, was das bedeutet? Es bedeutet, daß der Mann sich über den Parteigänger erhebt. Es bedeutet das Wiederrücken des Gewissens in unserer Republik. Es ist die wahre Volkssouveränität, die sich Bahn bricht.

So werft denn eure Maulwurfsbühel auf und nennt sie unweinehbare Festungen. Ihr scheint nicht zu begreifen, wie winzig sie sind. Die Logik der Thatfachen wird mit ihren gewaltigen Räubern darüber hinrollen. Eure kümmerlichen Arbeiten werden keine Spur hinterlassen, um euer künftiges Geschick zu melden.

Nur diejenigen, deren Herzen für große sittliche Regungen verschlossen sind, sind unfähig zu erkennen, daß wir uns inmitten einer großen sittlichen Revolution befinden. Sie können den schließlichen Sieg nicht verhindern; ich bin fest überzeugt, daß sie ihn nicht einmal verzögern können. Nein, sie helfen wider ihren eigenen Willen dazu, und Douglas selbst arbeitet mit an diesem Fortschritt. Er hat das Volk von Amerika eine große und erhabene Lehre gelehrt.

Ich glaube, es war der Senator Pugh, welcher einmal sagte, daß wenn Douglas vom Süden niedergeschlagen würde, er seinen blutigen Leichnam der Jugend des Nordwestens als Beispiel sündlicher Dankbarkeit vorhalten würde. Mag der moderne Mark Anton denn mit seinem todtm Caesar kommen (verzeihen Sie, es ist weder der todtm Caesar, noch der lebende Antonius); mag er seinen blutigen Leichnam hereinbringen, und ich möchte ihm die Leichenrede vortragen. Möge er zu der Jugend der amerikanischen Republik sagen: „Dies ist Douglas. Seht ihn an! Für jede Wunde, die ihm der Süden geschlagen hat, hat er einen Streich gegen die Freiheit seiner Landesleute geführt. Möge er als ein warnendes Beispiel dienen, daß ein Mann, wohl ein Verräther an der Freiheit sein, und doch nicht ein Günstling der Sklavenmacht werden kann. Durch falsche Volkssouveränität suchte er zu zeigen; die wahre Volkssouveränität hat ihn gestürzt.“

Wenn die Jugend Amerikas von dieser Lehre Gewinn zieht, so mag man sagen, daß sogar Douglas seinem Lande einen Dienst erwiesen habe. (Gelächter.) Dann Friede mit ihm — seine Sendung ist erfüllt.

Aber nun haben wir andere zu erfüllen. Die falsche Volkssouveränität ist gestürzt. Freie Männer, es ist nun an Euch zu sehen, daß wahre Volkssouveränität triumphire.

Bürger von New-York, als ich nach Vertagung der Convention, welche den großen und guten Abraham Lincoln für die Präsidentschaft nominirte, das Volk meines Staates zum ersten Male wieder anredete, sagte ich zu ihnen: „Wisconsin möge seine Hand über die großen Seen strecken und die Hand von New-York ergreifen. Möge es bekannt werden, daß New-York und Wisconsin, die bis zuletzt für Semard einbanden in der Convention, zuerst und ausdrücklich für Lincoln und die Freiheit in der Schlacht einstehen werden.“ Wisconsin wird sein Gelübde am 6. November 1860. Männer von New-York, wir warten eurer Antwort!!

(Langer Beifall!)

Die Chicago Republikanische Plattform.

Angenommen am 17. Mai 1860 von der republikanischen National-Convention.

Beschlossen, daß wir, die delegirten Vertreter der republikanischen Wähler der Ver. Staaten, uns in dieser Versammlung und in Erfüllung der uns von unsern Wählern auferlegten und unserm Lande schuldigen Pflicht zu folgenden Erklärungen vereinigen:

Erstens: Daß die nationale Geschichte der letzten vier Jahre die Angelegenheiten und Nothwendigkeit der Organisation und Fortbauer der republikanischen Partei vollständig erwiesen hat, und daß die selbe in's Dasein rufenden Ursachen ihrer Natur nach dauernd sind und jetzt mehr, als je, den friedlichen und verfassungsmäßigen Sieg dieser Partei erfordern.

Zweitens: Daß die Aufrechterhaltung der in der Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung verkündigten und in der Bundesverfassung enthaltenen Grundsätze zur Erhaltung unserer republikanischen Einrichtungen wesentlich nothwendig ist, und daß die Bundesverfassung, die Rechte und Einheit der Staaten erhalten werden müssen und sollen.

Drittens: Daß die Einheit der Staaten dieser Nation ihr beispielloses Wachstum in Bevölkerung, ihre überraschende Entwicklung materieller Hilfsquellen, ihre rasche Vermehrung in Wohlstand, ihr Glück im Innern und ihre Achtung nach Außen geschaffen hat; daß wir alle Pläne der Zwietracht verabschonen, wo sie auch herkommen mögen; und daß wir dem Lande Glück wünschen, daß kein republikanisches Congressmitglied eine Drohung der Trennung ausgesprochen oder gebilligt hat, wie sie oft von demokratischen Congressmitgliedern ausging, ohne daß sie von ihren Genossen getadelt wurde, ja, für welche man ihnen Beifall leistet; wir erklären daß diese Drohungen gegen die Lebensprinzipien einer freien Regierung das Eingefändnis vorbedachten Verrathes sind, dessen Unterdrückung die gebietende Pflicht eines entrüsteten Volkes ist.

Viertens: Daß die unverrückte Aufrechterhaltung der Rechte der Staaten und namentlich des Rechtes eines jeden Staates, seine eigenen heimischen Institutionen zu ordnen und zu kontrolliren, ausschließlich nach seinem eigenen Dafürhalten, unumgänglich nothwendig ist zur Aufrechterhaltung des Machtgleichgewichts, wozon die Perfection und die Dauer unserer politischen Principien abhängt, und daß wir ungesegnete Invasion mit kesselfreier Macht in irgend einen Staat oder Territorium, einerlei unter welchem Vorwande dies geschehen mag, als eines der schwersten Verbrechen verdammen.

Fünftens: Daß die gegenwärtige demokratische Administration unsere schärfsten Befürchtungen in Betreff ihrer maßlosen Unterwürfigkeit unter die Diktate einer sectionellen Partei überstossen hat, wie dies namentlich aus ihren verzweifelten Anstrengungen hervorgeht die infame Re-Compton-Constitution dem Volke von Kansas trotz seines Protestes aufzuzwingen, — aus ihrer Erklärung des persönlichen Verhältnisses zwischen Herrn und Sklaven, um ein unbedingtes Eigentumsrecht auf Personen herzustellen, — aus ihrem Versuch überall, zu Land und zur See, durch die Intervention des Congresses und der Bundesgerichte die extremen Forderungen eines rein lokalen Interesses zu betriebligen, — und aus ihrem allgemeinen und beständigen Mißbrauch der Macht, welche ihr durch ein vertrauensvolles Volk übertragen wurde.

Sechstens: Daß das Volk mit Unruhe sehen muß, welche rücksichtslose Verschwendung in jedem Departement der Bundesregierung herrscht, und daß die Missethätigkeit zur strengsten Exparament und einer genauen Controlle unerlässlich ist, um dem Systeme der Förderung des öffentlichen Schatzes durch begünstigte Parteianhänger Einhalt zu thun, während die neuen absehbaren Entwürfen über die Betrügereien und Corruption in der Bundes-Metropole beweisen, daß ein gänzlicher Wechsel der Administration eine gebietende Nothwendigkeit ist.

Siebentens: Daß das neue Dogma, daß die Constitution an sich die Sklaverei in jedem Territorium der Vereinigten Staaten einführt, eine gefährliche politische Kezerei ist und im Widerspruch mit den ausdrücklichen Bestimmungen gerade jenes Instrumentes steht, revolutionär in seinen Tendenzen ist und dem Lande seinen Frieden und seine Harmonie rauben muß.

Achtens: Daß der normale Zustand aller Territorien der

Vereinigten Staaten der der Freiheit ist; daß es — da unsere republikanischen Wähler, als sie die Sklaverei in dem Territorium der Nation abschafften, versagten, daß keine Person ohne ortsüblichen Prozeß ihres Lebens, Freiheit oder Eigenthums beraubt werden solle — unsere Pflicht ist, durch Gesetze, wenn immer solche nöthig sein dürften, diese Bestimmung der Constitution, gegen alle Versuche sie zu verlegen aufrecht zu erhalten; und daß wir die Macht des Congresses oder einer Territorial-Legislatur oder irgend eines Individuums befreiten, der Sklaverei in irgend einem Territorium der Vereinigten Staaten gesetzliche Erlaubnis zu verleihen.

Neunten: Daß wir die jüngste Wiedereröffnung des afrikanischen Sklavenhandels, unter dem Dedmantel der Flagge dieser Nation, unterstützt durch mehrstimmige Richter, als ein Verbrechen gegen die Humanität, einen unauflöslichen Schandfleck für unser Land und Jahrhundert brandmarken und den Congress auffordern, sofortige und wirksame Maßregeln für die gänzliche und ewige Unterdrückung dieses abscheulichen Handels zu ergreifen.

Zehnten: Daß wir in den neulichen Veto's der Bundes-Statthalter von Kansas und Nebraska gegen die von den Legislaturen dieser Staaten erlassenen Verbots-Gesetze gegen die Sklaverei einen praktischen Beleg zu dem gerühmten demokratischen Grundsatz der Nicht-Intervention und Volkssouveränität, welcher in der Kansas-Nebraska-Bill seinen Ausdruck fand, und ein Zeugniß für die Eignungsfähigkeit und die betrieblige Absicht, welche dieser Bill unterlag, erkennen.

Elften: Daß Kansas von Rechten wegen sogleich mit der neulich abgefaßten und vom Volke angenommenen und vom Repräsentantenhaufe adoptirten Constitution als Staat ausgenommen werden sollte.

Zwölften: Daß eine gesunde Politik — bei der Aufrechterhaltung von Hölzen, um die Mittel zur Deckung der Kosten der Regierung zu beschaffen — erfordert, daß diese Ausgaben so festgesetzt werden, daß dadurch die industriellen Interessen des ganzen Landes gefördert werden, und daß wir die Politik des nationalen Austausches der Erzeugnisse empfehlen, welche den Arbeitern guten Lohn, dem Ackerbau lohnende Preise, den Handwertern und Fabrikanten eine entsprechende Belohnung ihres Talentes, ihrer Arbeit und ihres Unternehmungsgeistes, und der Nation commercielle Prosperität und Unabhängigkeit sichert.

Dreizehnten: Daß wir gegen — im Verlaufe oder die Veräußerung der öffentlichen Aemtern, welche von wirklischen Ansiedlern besetzt sind, an Andere, und gegen irgend eine Verletzung der freien Meinungsäußerung protestiren, wonach die Anseher als „Pantpers“ oder Supplikanten um öffentliche Aemter angesehen werden sollen; und daß wir die Annahme des vollständigen und genügenden Heimstättegesetzes, welches bereits das Haus paßirt hat, durch den Congress erlangen.

Vierzehnten: Daß die republikanische Partei jeder Veränderung unserer Naturalisations-Gesetze und jeder Erlassung von Staats-Gesetzen, wodurch die bis dahin Einwanderern aus fremden Ländern bewilligten Bürger-Rechte aufgehoben oder beeinträchtigt würden, opponirt und verlangt, daß alle Bürger, eingeborne wie eingewanderte, im Inlande und Auslande vollständig und kräftigen Schutz genießen.

Fünfzehnten: Daß der Congress Bewilligungen für Fluß und Hafen-Verbesserungen machen muß, welche für die ganze Nation Werth haben und für den Handel nöthig oder zweckmäßig sind, und daß solche durch die Constitution gestattet und gerechtfertigt sind, indem diese der Regierung die Pflicht auferlegt, Leben und Eigenthum der Bürger zu schützen.

Sechszehnten: Daß eine Eisenbahn nach dem Stillen Meere im Interesse des ganzen Landes als eine gebietende Nothwendigkeit erscheint; daß die Bundesregierung sofortige und kräftige Hilfe zu deren Bau gewähren soll, und daß als vorläufige Maßregel zu diesem Ende eine tägliche Rekrutirungsgeld gleich etabliert werden sollte.

Siebzehnten: Nachdem wir in dieser Weise unsere Grundsätze und Ansichten deutlich auseinander gesetzt haben, haben wir alle Bürger, so sehr sie auch in andern Fragen von uns abweichen mögen, wenn sie im Wesentlichen mit uns übereinstimmen, zum Beitritt und zur Unterstützung ein.

National-DEMOKRATISCHE Douglass-Plattform.

Angenommen in Charleston und Baltimore 1860.

1. Beschlossen, daß wir, die Demokratie der Union, in der Convention versammelt, hiermit uns einverstanden erklären mit der im Jahre 1856 in Cincinnati einstimmig angenommenen Plattform der Grundsätze der demokratischen Partei, indem wir glauben, daß die demokratischen Grundsätze ihrem Wesen nach unveränderlich sind, insofern sie sich auf dieselben Gegenstände beziehen, und wir empfehlen als die einzigen weiteren Beschlüsse die folgenden:

Da in Bezug auf das Wesen und die Macht einer Territorial-Legislatur verschiedene Ansichten in der demokratischen Partei bestehen, sowie auch in Bezug auf die constitutionale Macht und Pflicht des Congresses in Betreff der Sklaverei in den Territorien, —

2. Beschlossen, daß die demokratische Partei sich den Entscheidungen des Oberbundesgerichts in Fragen des constitutionellen Gesetzes unterwerfen will.

3. Beschlossen, daß es die Pflicht der Ver. Staaten ist, allen Bürgern, daheim und im Auslande, eingeborenen und ausländischen, vollen und genügenden Schutz zu gewähren.

4. Beschlossen, daß von Seiten der Interessen des Han-

del, des schnellen Verkehrs und der Postverbindung eine Eisenbahn nach dem Stillen Ocean eine Nothwendigkeit ist, und daß die demokratische Partei sich verpflichtet, eine solche constitutionelle Regierung ins Leben zu rufen, welche den Bau einer solchen Eisenbahn so schnell wie möglich sicher stellt.

5. Beschlossen, daß die demokratische Partei sich der Erwerbung der Insel Cuba unter solchen Bedingungen, wie sie für uns selbst und Spanien ehrenvoll sind, günstig er lart.

6. Daß die Gesetze von Staatslegislaturen, sofern sie der getreuen Durchführung des Sklavensangesezes widersprechen, ihrem Charakter nach feindselig, der Constitution zuwider, und ihren Folgen nach revolutionär sind.

7. Daß es mit der wahren Auslegung der Cincinnati-Plattform übereinstimmt, daß während des Bestehens einer Territorial-Verwaltung die Beschränkungen, wie immer sie auch sein mögen, welche die Bundesverfassung den Territorialgesetzgebungen betrefst der Sklaverei auferlegt, wie dieselbe vom Obergerichte der Ver. Staaten ausgelegt worden sind, oder ausgelegt werden mögen, von allen guten Bürgern geachtet, und treu und gewissenhaft von jedem Zweige der Bundesverwaltung vollzogen werden müssen.

National-DEMOKRATISCHE Breckinridge-Plattform.

Angenommen in Charleston und Baltimore 1860.

Beschlossen, daß die von der demokratischen Partei in Cincinnati angenommene Plattform bestätigt werde, und zwar mit den folgenden erläuternden Beschlüssen:

1. Daß die Regierung eines durch ein Gesetz des Congresses organisirten Territoriums nur eine vorläufige ist, und daß während der Dauer derselben alle Bürger der Ver. Staaten gleiches Recht haben, sich mit ihrem Eigenthum im Territorium niederzulassen, ohne daß ihre Rechte, — sei es die Person oder das Eigenthum betreffende — durch Gesetze des Congresses oder der Territorien beeinträchtigt oder aufgehoben werden.

2. Daß es die Pflicht der Bundesregierung ist, falls es nöthig sein sollte, die Rechte der Person und des Eigenthums in den Territorien, oder wohin irgend die Macht des Congresses sich erstreckt, zu beschützen.

3. Daß, sobald die Bewohner eines Territoriums die gesetzlich geforderte Bevölkerung haben, um einen Staat zu bilden, das Souveränitätsrecht beginnt, und daß sie nach der Zulassung in die Union auf gleichem Fuße mit den andern Staaten stehen, und daß der so organisierte Staat in die Union aufgenommen werden muß,

gleichviel ob seine Verfassung die Sklaverei anerkennt oder ausschließt.

4. Daß die demokratische Partei zu Gunsten der möglichst baldigen Erwerbung von Cuba ist, unter solchen Bedingungen, wie sie für uns selbst und für Spanien ehrenvoll sind.

5. Daß die Gesetze von Staatslegislaturen, sofern sie der getreuen Durchführung des Sklavensangesezes widersprechen, ihrem Charakter nach feindselig, der Constitution zuwider, und ihren Folgen nach revolutionär sind.

6. Daß es die Pflicht der Ver. Staaten ist, allen Bürgern, daheim und im Auslande, eingeborenen und ausländischen, vollen und genügenden Schutz zu gewähren.

7. Daß von Seiten der Interessen des Handels, des schnellen Verkehrs und der Postverbindung eine Eisenbahn nach dem Stillen Ocean eine Nothwendigkeit ist, und daß die demokratische Partei sich verpflichtet, eine solche constitutionelle Regierung ins Leben zu rufen, welche den Bau einer solchen Eisenbahn so schnell wie möglich sicher stellt.

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Illinois Party, Illinois.
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POLITICAL RECORD OF

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

A TRACT ISSUED BY THE

ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Republican Party, Illinois - State Central Committee
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PART I.—ANTI-SLAVERY.

MR. DOUGLAS ENDEAVORS TO PROHIBIT SLAVERY IN "STATES."

On the 25th day of January, 1845, the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois, introduced the following amendment to the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, which had been presented by Mr. Brown, of Tennessee :

"And in such *State or States* as may be formed out of said *territory* north of said Missouri Compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude—except for crime—shall be prohibited."

The record of this action is found in the *Congressional Globe*, Vol. XIV, (2d session, 28th Congress,) page 193. The amendment became a part of the law for annexing Texas, and will be found on page 798 of the *U. S. Statutes at Large*, for 1836-1845. Let it be observed, that while Thomas Jefferson and the fathers of the Republic proposed to prohibit slavery in *Territories* only, and while the Republican party of to-day propose no more and no less, Stephen A. Douglas sought, in 1845, to prohibit it in *States*, even though the people wanted it !

HE REGARDS THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE AS A "SACRED THING."

On the 23d of October, 1849, Mr. Douglas made a speech at Springfield, Illinois, which was published in the *State Register* of Nov. 8th, in which he used the following remarkable language :

"The Missouri Compromise has an origin *akin* to that of the Constitution of the United States, conceived in the same spirit of fraternal affection, and calculated to remove forever the danger which seemed to threaten, at some distant day, to sever the social bond of union. All the evidences of public opinion, at that day, seemed to indicate that this Compromise had become canonized in the hearts of the American people as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb."

HE AWARDS THE GLORY OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE TO HENRY CLAY.

In the same speech, and in the same context, he continued as follows :

"The Missouri Compromise had then been in practical operation for about a quarter of a century, and had received the sanction and approbation of men of all parties, in every section of the Union. It had allayed all sectional jealousies and irritations, growing out of this vexed question, and harmonized and tranquilized the whole country. It had given to Henry Clay, as its prominent champion, the proud soubriquet of the '*Great Pacificator*,' and by that title, and for that service, his political friends had repeatedly appealed to the people to rally under his standard, as a presidential candidate, as the man who had exhibited the patriotism, and the power to suppress an unholy and treasonable agitation, and preserve the Union. He (Mr. Douglas) was not aware that any man or any party, from any section of the Union, had ever urged as an objection to Mr. Clay, that he was a Great Champion of the Missouri Compromise. On the contrary, the effort was made by the opponents of Mr. Clay, to prove that he was not entitled to the exclusive merit of that great patriotic measure, and that the honor was equally due to others as well as him, for securing its adoption."

"He, (Mr. Douglas) in connection with the entire delegation from Illinois, and according to his recollection, in company with nearly all the members from the Northern States, and some forty odd members from the Slave States, voted for the Oregon bill, containing a prohibition of slavery in that Territory, leaving the people to regulate their own domestic institutions under the Constitution *when they should become a State*. This triumphant vote, uniting both Northern and Southern members in favor of the Oregon bill, was a matter of no practical importance so far as the existence of the institution of slavery in that country was concerned, and is only referred to now, for the purpose of showing that at that day, the Constitutional right of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, was not virtually resisted, if, indeed, it was seriously questioned."

HE BELIEVES IT IS NOT UNJUST TO THE SOUTH TO EXCLUDE SLAVERY.

On the 18th day of March, 1850, Mr. Douglas made a speech in the Senate, defending the "sacred thing," from which the following is an average extract :

"The next in the series of aggressions complained of by the Senator from South Carolina, is the Missouri Compromise. The Missouri Compromise, an act of Northern injustice, designed to deprive the South of her due share of the Territories! Why, sir, it was only on this very day that the Senator from Mississippi despaired of any peaceable adjustment of existing difficulties, because the Missouri Compromise line could not be extended to the Pacific. That measure was originally adopted in the bill for the admission of Missouri by the union of Northern and Southern votes. The South has always professed to be willing to abide by it, and even to continue it, as a fair and honorable adjustment of a vexed and difficult question. In 1845 it was adopted in the resolutions for the annexation of Texas, by Southern as well as Northern votes, without the slightest complaint that it was unfair to any section of the country. In 1846 it received the support of every Southern member of the House of Representatives—Whig and Democrat—without exception, as an alternative measure to the Wilmot Proviso. And again in 1848, as an amendment to the Oregon bill, *on my motion*, it received the vote, if I recollect right—and I do not think that I can possibly be mistaken—of every Southern Senator, Whig and Democrat, even including the Senator from South Carolina himself, (Mr. Calhoun.) And yet we are now told that this is only second to the Ordinance of 1787 in the series of aggressions on the South."—*Cong. Globe, Appendix, vol. 22, part 1, page 870.*

"The Territories belong to the United States as one people, one nation, and are to be disposed of for the common benefit of all, according to the principles of the Constitution. Each State, as a member of the Confederacy, has a right to a voice in forming the rules and regulations for the government of the Territories; but the different sections—North, South, East and West—have no such right. It is no violation of Southern rights to prohibit slavery."—*Cong. Globe, Appendix, vol. 22, part 1, page 869.*

HE ADVOCATES THE "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" AND THE ULTIMATE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY!

On the same day, and in the same speech, Mr. Douglas continued in the following surprising strain—surprising, if we reflect in whose mouth the sentiments are found:

"I have already had occasion to remark, that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, there were twelve (slave States) and six of them have since abolished slavery. This fact shows that the cause of freedom has steadily and firmly advanced, while slavery has receded in the same ratio. We all look forward with confidence to the time when Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and probably North Carolina and Tennessee, will adopt one gradual system of emancipation, under the operation of which, those States must, in process of time become free."

And again, on the same page, speaking of a proposition to amend the Constitution so as to preserve an "equilibrium" in point of numbers between free and slave States, he says:

"Then, sir, the proposition of the Senator from South Carolina is entirely impracticable. It is also inadmissible, if practicable. It would revolutionize the fundamental principle of the Government. It would destroy the great principle of popular equality which must necessarily form the basis of all free institutions. It would be a retrograde movement in an age of progress, that would astonish the world."—*Congressional Globe, Appendix, vol. 22, part 1, page 871.*

HE BELIEVES THAT CONGRESS MAY RIGHTFULLY EXCLUDE SLAVES, BANKS OR ARDENT SPIRITS FROM THE TERRITORIES.

On the 13th of March, 1850, in the speech already quoted from, Mr. Douglas distinctly asserted the right of Congress to prohibit the introduction of certain species of property in the Territories, as being "unwise, immoral

and contrary to the principles of sound public policy," among which he enumerated property in slaves. He said:

"But you say that we propose to prohibit by law your emigrating to the Territories with your property. We propose no such thing. We recognize your right, in common with our own, to emigrate to the Territories with your property, and there to hold and enjoy it in subordination to the laws you may find in force in the country. These laws, in some respects, differ from our own, as the laws of the various States of this Union vary on some points from the laws of each other. Some species of property are excluded by law in most of the States as well as Territories, as being *unwise, immoral, OR CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOUND PUBLIC POLICY.* For instance, the banker is prohibited from emigrating to Minnesota, Oregon or California with his bank. The bank may be property by the laws of New York, but ceases to be so when taken into a State or Territory where banking is prohibited by the local law. So, ardent spirits, whisky, brandy, and all the intoxicating drinks, are recognized and considered as property in most of the States, if not all of them; but no citizen, whether from the North or South, can take this species of property with him, and hold, sell or use at his pleasure, in all the Territories, because it is prohibited by the local law—in Oregon, by the statutes of the Territory, and in the Indian country by the acts of Congress. *NOR CAN A MAN GO THERE AND TAKE AND HOLD HIS SLAVE, FOR THE SAME REASON.* These laws, and many others involving similar principles, are directed against no section, AND IMPAIR THE RIGHTS OF NO STATE OF THE UNION. They are laws against the introduction, sale and use of specific kinds of property, whether brought from the North or the South, or from foreign countries."—*Cong. Globe, Appendix, vol. 22, part 1, page 871.*

And again:

"But, sir, I do not hold the doctrine that to exclude any species of property by law from any Territory, is a violation of any right to property. Do you not exclude banks from most of the Territories? Do you not exclude whisky from being introduced into large portions of the Territory of the United States? Do you not exclude gambling tables, which are properly recognized as such in the States where they are tolerated? And has any one contended that the exclusion of gambling tables, and the exclusion of ardent spirits was a violation of any constitutional privilege or right? And yet it is the case in a large portion of the territory of the United States; but there is no outcry against that, because it is the prohibition of a specific kind of property, and not a prohibition against any section of the Union. Why, sir, our laws now prevent a tavern-keeper from going into some of the territories of the United States and taking a bar with him, and using and selling spirits there. The law also prohibits certain other descriptions of business from being carried on in the Territories. I am not, therefore, prepared to say that, under the Constitution, we have not the power to pass laws excluding Negro Slavery from the Territories. IT INVOLVES THE SAME PRINCIPLES."—*Speech of Senator Douglas, June 8d, 1850, pages 1115 and 1116, vol. 21, Cong. Globe, 1849-50.*

HE BELIEVES IT IS CONSTITUTIONAL TO PROHIBIT SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

On the same day, and in the same speech, Mr. Douglas referred to the Wilmot Proviso resolutions, passed by the Illinois Legislature, thus:

"My hands are tied upon one isolated point.

"A SENATOR—Can you not break loose?

"MR. DOUGLAS—I have no desire to break loose. My opinions are my own, and I express them freely. My votes belong to those who sent me here, and to whom I am responsible. I have never differed with my constituency during seven years service in Congress, except upon one solitary question. AND EVEN ON THAT I HAVE NO CONSTITUTIONAL DIFFICULTIES, and have previously twice given the same vote,

under peculiar circumstances; which is now required at my hands. *I have no desire, therefore, to break loose from the instruction.*" [*Congressional Globe, Appendix, vol. 22, part 1, page 873.*]

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE.

This is perhaps an appropriate place to introduce the Wilmot Proviso resolutions of the Illinois Legislature of 1849. They were adopted by the Senate on the 8th of January, in that year, and by the House on the 9th, in the following words, and by the annexed vote:

"Resolved by the Senate of the State of Illinois, the House of Representatives concurring, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use all honorable means in their power to procure the enactment of such laws by Congress for the government of the countries and territories of the United States acquired by the treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement with the Republic of Mexico, concluded February 2d, 1848, as shall contain the express declaration 'that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territories, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.'

"Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That the Governor be respectfully requested to transmit to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, a copy of the joint resolution of the Senate, concurred in by the House on the 9th inst., for the exclusion of slavery from the new territories acquired by our late treaty with the Republic of Mexico."

IN THE SENATE.

YEAS—Messrs. Ames, Denny, Gear, Gillespie, Grass, Judd, Matteson, (Joel A.) Morrison, (J. L. D.), McRoberts, Patterson, Plato, Reddick, Smith, Stuart.—14.

NAYS—Messrs. Cloud, Davis, Hardy, Markey, Odum, Osborn, Richmond, Rountree, Sutphin, Tichenor, Witt—11.

IN THE HOUSE.

YEAS—Messrs. Abend, Austin, Blakeman, Brady, Brown, Crandall, Crawford, Dento, Edwards, Ewing, Fay, Gilson, Gray, Harding, Harrison, Henderson, Keating, Keener, Kellogg, Leaser, Leach, Linder, Little, Maxwell, Pickering, Rice, Runkle, Ryan, Sanger, Sconce, Sherman, Smith, Starkweather, Thomas, Turnbull, Waller, Wheaton, Yates—88.

NAYS—Messrs. Blackman, Bradley, Bridges, Bond, Campbell, Cooper, Cochran, Darnville, Darnell, Dearborn, Evey, Fry, Guthrie, Hayes, Jennings, Lucas, Murret, Morris, McDonald, Olds, Page, Pattison, Price, Rice, Richardson, Sayre, Skinner, Sloan, Tack-erberry, Tyler, Vernon, Walker, Wilson, Mr. Speaker, (Zadock Casey)—84.

[Whigs in Politics—Democrats in Roman.]

MR. DOUGLAS RESPONDS TO THE RESOLUTIONS.

On the 23d of October, 1849, Mr. Douglas made a speech in Springfield, Ill., (referred to above,) which was published in the *State Register* of Nov. 8th, 1849. In this speech, he referred to the resolutions of instructions passed by the Legislature, in the following language:

"In August, '48, he (Mr. Douglas) had voted for the Oregon bill, containing a clause prohibiting slavery in that Territory. About four months afterwards, the Legislature assembled and prepared a resolution instructing our Senators, and requesting our Representatives in Congress to vote for territorial bills in California and New Mexico, containing a prohibition of slavery in those Territories. In other words, *they instructed him to do precisely what he had just done without instructions.* He had been informed that his Whig friends, and perhaps a few others, peculiarly situated,

confidently expected him to resign, rather than obey those instructions. It would be disagreeable to disappoint them in so reasonable an expectation. It was a serious question, however, requiring grave and deliberate consideration, whether he could conscientiously do under instructions what he had just done from the dictates of his judgment without instructions. As the decision of so important a question requires time to consider, he invited them to wait and see."

If it be denied that Mr. Douglas ever uttered these "Abolition" sentiments, a copy of the *Register* containing them, may be found on file, in one of the public offices at Springfield, another at Jacksonville, and perhaps others in other parts of the State, though it is true, that several files of the paper containing Mr. Douglas' speech of Oct. 23d, 1849, were quite mysteriously mutilated or destroyed in 1854, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

HE THOUGHT THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXTENDED TO THE PACIFIC.

The bill for the admission of California being under debate, Mr. Turney (of Tenn.) moved to amend the same by extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, saying his amendment was a verbatim copy of Douglas' amendment to the Oregon Bill. Mr. Douglas, on the 6th day of August, 1850, said:

"As reference has been made to me as the author of a similar amendment, in 1848, to the Oregon Bill, I desire only to state that I was then willing to adjust the whole slavery question on that line and those terms; and if the whole acquired territory was now in the same condition as it was then, I WOULD NOW VOTE FOR IT. AND SHOULD BE GLAD TO SEE IT ADOPTED. But since then California has increased her population, has a State government organized, and I cannot consent, for one, to destroy that State government and send all back, or that such a line as this shall form her southern boundary. For that reason, AND THAT ALONE, I shall vote against the amendment."—*Cong. Globe, Appendix, vol. 22, part 2, page 1510.*

HE RESOLVES NEVER TO MAKE ANOTHER SPEECH ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION!

In Senate, December 23d, 1851, on a resolution declaring the Compromise measures a "finality," Mr. Douglas said:

"At the close of the long session which adopted those measures, I resolved NEVER to make another speech upon the slavery question in the halls of Congress. * * * * *

"In taking leave of this subject, I wish to state that I have determined NEVER to make another speech upon the slavery question; and I will now add the hope that the necessity for it will never exist. I am heartily tired of the controversy, and I know that the country is disgusted with it. In regard to the resolutions of the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Foote,) I will be pardoned for saying that I much doubt the wisdom and expediency of their introduction. * * *

"So long as our opponents do not agitate for repeal or modification, why should we agitate for any purpose? We claim that the Compromise is a final settlement open to discussion, and agitation, and controversy, by its friends. What manner of settlement is that which does not settle the difficulty and quiet the dispute? Are not the friends of the Compromise becoming the agitators, and will not the country hold us responsible for that which we condemn and denounce in the Abolitionists and Free-soilers? These are matters worthy of consideration. Those who preach peace should not be the first to commence and re-open an old quarrel."—*Cong. Globe, Appendix, 1851-2, pages 65 and 68.*

SLAVERY IN NEW MEXICO.

For the purpose of contrasting the views uttered by Mr. Douglas in the Senate, on the 12th day of February, 1860, on the subject of slavery in the territory of New Mexico, with his remarks on the 16th of May, 1860, (hereafter quoted,) we copy the following from the *Congressional Globe*, vol. 22, part 1, page 343 :

"Mr. DOUGLAS.—If the question is controverted here, I am ready to enter into the discussion of that question at any time, upon a reasonable notice, and to show that by the constituted authority and constitutional authority of Mexico, slavery was prohibited in Mexico at the time of the acquisition, and that prohibition was acquired by us with the soil, and that when we acquired the territory, we acquired it with that attached to it—that covenant running with the soil—and that must continue, unless removed by competent authority. And because there was a prohibition thus attached to the soil, I have always thought it was an unwise, unnecessary, and unjustifiable course on the part of the people of the free States, to require Congress to put another prohibition on the top of that one. *It has been the strongest argument that I have ever urged against the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, that it was not necessary for the accomplishment of their object.*"

THE THREE NEBRASKA BILLS.

No. 1.

On the 17th day of February, A. D. 1853, Senator Douglas, as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported to the Senate his first "Act to Organize the Territory of Nebraska." This act contained no repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and it failed to become a law for want of time. Senator Atchison, of Missouri, on the 3d day of March, 1853, made some remarks on this bill, in which he acknowledged that he had no hope of ever seeing the Missouri Compromise repealed. He said :

"I had two objections to this bill. One was, that the Indian title to that Territory had not been extinguished, or at least but a very small portion of it had been. Another was the Missouri Compromise, or, as it is commonly called, the Slavery Restriction. It was my opinion at that time,—and I am not now very clear on that subject,—that the law of Congress, when the State of Missouri was admitted into the Union, excluding slavery from the Territory of Louisiana north of 36 deg. 30 min., would be enforced in that Territory unless it was specially rescinded; and whether that law was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States or not, it would do its work, and that work would be to preclude slaveholders from going into that Territory. But when I came to look into that question, I found that there was no prospect, no hope, of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise excluding Slavery from that Territory. Now, sir, I am free to admit that at this moment, at this hour, and for all time to come, I should oppose the organization or the settlement of that Territory, unless my constituents and the constituents of the whole South, of the slave States of the Union, could go into it upon the same footing, with equal rights and equal privileges, carrying the species of property with them as other people of this Union. Yes, sir, I acknowledge that that would have governed me, but I have no hope that the restriction will ever be repealed.

"I have always been of opinion that the first great error committed, in the political history of this country, was the Ordinance of 1787, rendering the Northwest Territory free territory. The next great error was the Missouri Compromise. But they are both irremediable. There is no remedy for them. We must submit to them. I am prepared to do it. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE CANNOT BE REPEALED. So far as that question is concerned, we might as well agree to the admission of this Territory now as next year, or five or ten years hence."—[*Cong. Globe*, Session 1852-53, page 1113.

No. 2.

On the 4th day of January, 1854, Mr. Douglas, as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported to the Senate his second bill for the organization of Nebraska. The bill was accompanied by a report, from which the following is an extract :

"Your Committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into the discussion of these controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife and the fearful struggle of 1860. As Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy then, either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution and the extent of the protection afforded by it to slave property in the Territories, so **YOUR COMMITTEE ARE NOT PREPARED NOW TO RECOMMEND A DEPARTURE** from the course pursued on that memorable occasion, **EITHER BY AFFIRMING OR REPEALING THE EIGHTH SECTION OF THE MISSOURI ACT**, or by any Act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points of dispute."

Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, immediately introduced an amendment to the bill, declaring the Missouri Compromise null and void. Senator Atchison, of Missouri, then the presiding officer of the Senate, threatened Mr. Douglas with a displacement from his position as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, unless he should accept Mr. Dixon's amendment. Mr. Atchison tells the whole story in a speech delivered at Atchison City, Kansas, on the 10th day of September, 1854, reported as follows in the *Parkville Luminary* :

"He [Atchison] thought the Missouri Compromise ought to be repealed; he had pledged himself in his public addresses to vote for no territorial organization that would not virtually annul it; and with this feeling in his heart, he desired to be the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories when a bill was introduced.

"With this object in view, he had a private interview with Mr. Douglas, and informed him of what he desired—the introduction of a bill for Nebraska like what he had promised to vote for, and that he would like to be Chairman of the Committee on Territories, in order to introduce such a measure; and if he could get that position, he would immediately resign as President of the Senate. Judge Douglas requested twenty-four hours to consider the matter, and if, at the expiration of that time, he could not introduce such a bill as he [Mr. Atchison] proposed; which would, at the same time, accord with his own sense of justice to the South, he would resign as Chairman of the Territorial Committee in Democratic caucus, and exert his influence to get him [Atchison] appointed. At the expiration of the given time, Senator Douglas signified his intention to introduce such a bill as had been spoken of."

No. 3.

Whether Atchison told the truth or not, it is a fact that on the 23d day of January, 1854, nineteen days after he was "not prepared to recommend a departure" from the Missouri prohibition, Mr. Douglas brought in a new bill, dividing Nebraska into two Territories—Kansas and Nebraska—and repealing the Missouri Compromise in the following terms :

"That the Constitution, and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Nebraska (and Kansas) as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, which BEING INCONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN THE STATES AND TERRITORIES, AS RECOGNIZED BY THE LEGISLATION OF 1860, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void."

PART II.—PRO-SLAVERY.

The introduction of the third Nebraska bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise, constitutes the turning point in Mr. Douglas' political highway. From this sharp corner, his course is wholly and utterly pro-slavery, down to the introduction of the Lecompton bill in the Senate, where he takes a position of indifference, best expressed in his phrase, "Don't care whether slavery is voted down or voted up." The indifferent mood is preserved a little more than two years, when, as will be seen by the record, he becomes more wrathfully pro-slavery than ever before.

HE VOTES DOWN "POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY."

The true intent and meaning of the Nebraska bill was declared to be "not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." This was the "stump speech in the belly of the bill," as Mr. Benton justly characterized it. On the 15th of February, 1854, Senator Chase offered an amendment to the bill, in order to allow the people to exclude slavery while in a Territorial condition, if they wanted to. The amendment was as follows:

"Mr. Chase.—I desire to submit an amendment—to insert immediately after the words, 'subject to the Constitution of the United States,' the following:

"Under which the people of the Territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, PROHIBIT THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY THEREIN."—*Cong. Globe*, 1854, part 1, page 421.

After considerable discussion a vote was taken, on the 2d of March following, and the amendment was rejected by—yeas, 10; nays, 30—DOUGLAS voting in the negative. Thus it appeared that the people were *not* left perfectly free to *exclude* slavery, according to Mr. Douglas' understanding of his own bill.

HE DOES IT AGAIN.

On the 2d of July, 1856, Senator Trumbull offered the following amendment to the bill for the admission of Kansas, commonly known as the "Toombs Bill":

"And be it further enacted, That the provision of the 'Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas,' which declares it to be the 'true intent and meaning' of said act 'not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States,' was intended to and does confer upon or leave to the people of Kansas full power, at any time, through its Territorial Legislature, to exclude slavery from said Territory, or to recognize and regulate it therein."

The vote stood—yeas 11, nays 34. DOUGLAS voting in the negative. The amendment may be found on page 796, and the vote on page 799 of the Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 1855-56.

HE SAYS IT IS A QUESTION FOR THE SUPREME COURT.

On this occasion, (to wit, on the 2d of July, 1856,) Mr. Douglas used the following language in discussing the amendment:

"My opinion in regard to the question which my colleague is trying to raise here, has been well known to the Senate for years. It has been repeated over and over again. He tried, the other day, as those associated with him on the stump used to do two years ago and last year, to ascertain what were my opinions on this point in the Nebraska bill. I TOLD THEM IT WAS A JUDICIAL QUESTION. My answer then was, and now is, that IF THE CONSTITUTION CARRIES SLAVERY THERE, LET IT GO, AND NO POWER ON EARTH CAN TAKE IT AWAY; but if the Constitution does not carry it there, no power but the people can carry it there. Whatever may be the true decision of that constitutional point, it would not have affected my vote for or against the Nebraska bill. *I should have supported it as readily if I thought the decision would be one way as the other.* If my colleague will examine my speeches, he will find that declaration. He will also find that I stated I would not discuss the LEGAL QUESTION, for that by the bill we referred it to the Courts."—*Appendix to Cong. Globe*, page 797.

And again on the same day, in reply to Mr. Trumbull, he said:

"I say I am willing to leave it to the Supreme Court of the United States, because the Constitution intrusted it there."—*Appendix to Cong. Globe*, 1855-6, page 797.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT DECIDED.

This is a proper place to give the decision of the Supreme Court on the question of slavery in the Territories, and the right of Territorial Legislatures to exclude it. It will be found on pages 450 and 451, vol. 19, Howard's Reports, (Dred Scott vs. John F. A. Sanford,) where, after deciding that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in a Territory, the Court proceeded as follows:

"The powers over person and property of which we speak are not only not granted to Congress, but are in express terms denied, and they are forbidden to exercise them. And this prohibition is not confined to the States, but the words are general, and extend to the whole territory over which the Constitution gives it power to legislate, including those portions of it remaining under Territorial Government, as well as that covered by States. It is a total absence of power everywhere within the dominion of the United States, and places the citizens of a Territory, so far as these rights are concerned, on the same footing with citizens of the States, and guards them as firmly and plainly against any inroads which the General Government might attempt, under the plea of implied or incidental powers. And if Congress itself cannot do this—if it is beyond the powers conferred on the Federal Government—it will be admitted, we presume, that it could not authorize a Territorial Government to exercise them. It could confer no power on any local government established by its authority, to violate the provisions of the Constitution.

"It seems, however, to be supposed that there is a difference between property in a slave and other property, and that different rules may be applied to it in expounding the Constitution of the United States. And the laws and usages of nations, and the writings of eminent jurists upon the relation of master and slave, and their mutual rights and duties, and the powers which governments may exercise over it, have been dwelt upon in the argument.

"But in considering the question before us, it must be borne in mind that there is no law of nations standing between the people of the United States and their government, and interfering with their relation to each

other. The powers of the government, and the rights of the citizens under it, are positive and practical regulations plainly written down. The people of the United States have delegated to it certain enumerated powers, and forbidden it to exercise others. It has no power over the person or property of a citizen but what the citizens of the United States have granted. And no laws or usages of other nations, or reasoning of statesmen or jurists upon the relation of master and slave, can enlarge the powers of the government, or take from the citizen the rights they have reserved. And if the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, *no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction, or deny to it the benefit of the provisions and guarantees which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the government.*

"Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion, upon a different point, **THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN A SLAVE IS DISTINCTLY AND EXPRESSLY AFFIRMED IN THE CONSTITUTION.** The right of traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States in every State that might desire it, for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time, if the slave escapes from his owner. This is done in plain words, too plain to be misunderstood. And no word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to less protection than property of any other description. *The only power conferred is the power, coupled with the duty, of guarding and protecting the owner in his rights.*"

POINTS ESTABLISHED BY THE DECISION.

In the 19th vol. of Howard's Reports, page 395, a syllabus of the Dred Scott decision, embracing the points established by the Court, is given in the following words:

1st. "The Territory thus acquired, is acquired by the people of the United States for their common and equal benefit, through their agent and trustee—the Federal Government. Congress can exercise no power over the rights of persons or property of a citizen in the Territory which is prohibited by the Constitution. The Government and the citizen, whenever the Territory is open to settlement, both enter with their respective rights defined and limited by the Constitution."

2d. "Congress has no right to prohibit citizens of any particular State or States, from taking up their homes there, while it permits citizens of other States to do so. Nor has it a right to give privileges to one class of citizens which it refuses to another. The Territory is acquired for their equal and common benefit, and if open to any, it must be open to all upon equal and the same terms."

3d. "EVERY CITIZEN HAS A RIGHT TO TAKE WITH HIM INTO THE TERRITORY ANY ARTICLE OF PROPERTY WHICH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES AS PROPERTY."

4th. "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES SLAVES AS PROPERTY, AND PLEDGES THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT IT. And Congress cannot exercise any more authority over property of that description, than it may Constitutionally exercise over property of any other kind."

5th. "The act of Congress, therefore, prohibiting a citizen of the United States taking with him his slaves when he removes to the Territory in question to reside, IS AN EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY OVER PRIVATE PROPERTY WHICH IS NOT WARRANTED BY THE CONSTITUTION, and the removal of the plaintiff, by his owner, to that Territory, gave him no title to freedom."

6th. "While it remains a Territory, Congress may legislate over it within the scope of its constitutional powers, in relation to citizens of the United States, and may establish a Territorial Government, and the form of this local government must be regulated by the dis-

cretion of Congress; but with powers not exceeding those which Congress itself, by the Constitution, is authorized to exercise over citizens of the United States, in respect to their rights of property."

Senator Benjamin, in his speech of May 22d, 1860, says that this syllabus was prepared and written out by Judge Taney himself.

MR. DOUGLAS ENDORSES THE WHOLE DECISION.

The Dred Scott decision was delivered in March, 1857. Mr. Buchanan had just been inaugurated, and the Senate had just adjourned. Mr. Douglas took an early occasion to give in his adhesion, not only to the decision that Dred Scott was not a citizen, and therefore could not bring suit in a Circuit Court of the United States, but also to the *obiter dictum*, that neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature could prohibit slavery in a Territory. Having found a Grand Jury in session at Springfield, in the month of June following, an invitation was procured from that august body, calling for the views of Mr. Douglas on three points, to-wit: the Lecompton Convention in Kansas; the proposed invasion of Utah; and the Dred Scott decision. On the last mentioned topic he spoke as follows:

"The character of Chief-Justice Taney and the associate judges who concurred with him require no eulogy—on vindication from me. They are endeared to the people of the United States by their eminent public services—venerated for their great learning, wisdom and experience—and beloved for the spotless purity of their characters and their exemplary lives. The poisonous shafts of partisan malice will fall harmless at their feet, while their judicial decisions will stand in all future time, a proud monument to their greatness, the admiration of the good and wise, and a rebuke to the partisans of faction and lawless violence.

"The Court did not attempt to avoid responsibility by disposing of the case upon technical points without touching the merits, nor did they go out of their way to decide questions not properly before them and directly presented by the record. *Like honest and conscientious judges, as they are, they met and decided each point as it arose, and faithfully performed their whole duty, and nothing but their duty, to their country, BY TERMINATING ALL THE QUESTIONS IN THE CASE, and nothing but what was essential to the decision of the case upon its merits.*"—*Douglas' Springfield Grand Jury Speech, June 12th, 1857—as published in the State Register.*

HE DROPS "POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY" ALTOGETHER.

Mr. Douglas has so frequently re-endorsed the Dred Scott decision that it is hardly worth while to notice his subsequent remarks on that theme. Let it be observed, however, that after the Illinois election of 1858. Mr. Douglas ceased talking about the right of Territorial Legislatures to exclude slavery, but commenced on an entirely new theme, to-wit: "the right of the people to control slavery as property." On the 22d of June, 1859, Mr. Douglas wrote the following letter to J. B. Dorr, Esq., the editor of the *Dubuque Herald*, which was immediately telegraphed all over the country, as the ground-work of principles on which he would be willing to accept the nomination of the Charleston Convention:

"WASHINGTON, June 23d, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter inquiring whether my friends are at liberty to present my name to the Charleston Convention for the Presidential nomination.

"Before this question can finally be determined, it will be necessary to understand distinctly upon what issues the canvass is to be conducted. If, as I have full faith they will, the Democratic party shall determine in the Presidential election of 1860 to adhere to the principles embodied in the Compromise measures of 1850, and ratified by the people in the Presidential election of 1852, and re-affirmed in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and incorporated into the Cincinnati platform in 1856, as expounded by Mr. Buchanan in his letter accepting the nomination, and approved by the people in his election—in that event my friends will be at liberty to present my name to the Convention if they see proper to do so. If, on the contrary, it shall become the policy of the Democratic party, which I cannot anticipate, to repudiate these, their time-honored principles, on which we have achieved so many patriotic triumphs, and in lieu of them the Convention shall interpolate into the creed of the party such new issues as revival of the African slave trade, or a Congressional slave code for the territories, or the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States ever established or prohibited slavery in the territories, *beyond the power of the people legally to control it as property*.—It is due to candor to say, that in such an event I could not accept the nomination if tendered to me. Trusting that this answer will be deemed sufficiently explicit, I am, very respectfully,

"Your friend, S. A. DOUGLAS.

"J. B. DORA, Esq., Dubuque, Iowa."

Probably the best exposition which has been made of this new dogma, is found in MR. LINCOLN's speech delivered at Columbus, Ohio, in September, 1859, where he noticed the change in Mr. Douglas' tone as follows:

"The Dred Scott decision expressly gives every citizen of the United States a right to carry his slaves into the United States Territories. And now there was some inconsistency in saying that the decision was right, and saying, too, that the people of the Territory could lawfully drive slavery out again. When all the trash, the word, the collateral matter, was cleared away from it; all the chaff was fanned out of it, it was a bare absurdity: *no less than that a thing may be lawfully driven away from where it has a lawful right to be*. Clear it of all the verbiage, and that is the naked truth of his proposition—that a thing may be lawfully driven from the place where it has a lawful right to stay. Well, it was because the Judge couldn't help seeing this, that he has had so much trouble with it; and what I want to ask your especial attention to, just now, is to remind you, if you have not noticed the fact, that the Judge does not any longer say that the people can exclude slavery. He does not say so in the copy-right essay; he did not say so in the speech that he made here; and, so far as I know, since his re-election to the Senate, he has never said, as he did at Freeport, that the people of the Territories can exclude slavery. He desires that you, who wish the Territories to remain free, should believe that he stands by that position, but he does not say it himself. He escapes to some extent the absurd position I have stated, by changing his language entirely. What he says now is something different in language, and we will consider whether it is not different in sense too. It is now that the Dred Scott decision, or rather the Constitution under that decision, does not carry slavery into the Territories beyond the power of the people of the Territories *to control it as other property*. He does not say that people can drive it out, but they can control it as other property. The language is different: we should consider whether the sense is different. Driving a horse out of this lot is too plain a proposition to be mistaken about: it is putting him on the other side of the fence. Or it might be a sort of exclusion of him from the lot if you were to kill him and let the worms devour him; but neither of these things is the same as 'controlling him as other property.' That would be to feed him, to pamper him, to ride him, to use and abuse him, to make the most money out of him 'as other property;' but please you, what do the men

who are in favor of slavery, want more than this? What do they really want, other than that slavery, being in the Territories, shall be controlled as other property?"

HE GOES DIRECTLY FOR SUPREME COURT SOVEREIGNTY AND A TERRITORIAL SLAVE CODE.

On the 23d of June, 1860, the Douglas wing of the National Democratic Convention, at Baltimore, finished up its business by adopting the following resolution as a part of its platform,—the resolution having been offered by Mr. Wickliffe, of Louisiana, who declared that its adoption would give Mr. Douglas 40,000 votes in that State:

"Resolved, That it is in accordance with the Cincinnati platform, that during the existence of Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, *as the same has been or shall hereafter be decided by the Supreme Court of the United States*, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government."

In his letter accepting the nomination, Mr. Douglas gave his particular attention to the Wickliffe slave-code resolution, remarking upon it as follows:

"Upon a careful examination of the platform of principles adopted at Charleston, and re-affirmed at Baltimore, with an additional resolution which is in *perfect harmony* with the others, I find it to be a faithful embodiment of the time-honored principles of the Democratic party, as the same were proclaimed and understood by all parties in the Presidential contests of 1843, 1852 and 1856."

Thus has squatter sovereignty at last been completely squatted out!

HE BELIEVES THAT THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORIES ARE "HELD IN ABEYANCE."

On the 12th of March, 1856, Mr. Douglas submitted his famous report, accompanying a bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State, commonly known as the "Toombs Bill." Senator Chase's amendment to the Nebraska Bill, authorizing the people to exclude slavery while in a territorial condition, having been voted down, and the right of a Territorial Legislature to prohibit slavery having thus been denied, it became important to know whether, in Mr. Douglas' opinion, the people can in any other way exclude slavery prior to the formation of a State Constitution. On this point Mr. Douglas is very explicit in denying the right. In the report here referred to he says:

"Without deeming it necessary to express any opinion on this occasion, in reference to that [the Rhode Island] controversy, it is evident that the principles upon which it was conducted are not involved in the revolutionary struggle now going on in Kansas; for the reason THAT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF A TERRITORY REMAINS IN ABEYANCE SUSPENDED IN THE UNITED STATES, IN TRUST FOR THE PEOPLE, UNTIL THEY SHALL BE ADMITTED INTO THE UNION AS A STATE."—[Douglas' Report on Kansas Affairs, March 12, 1856, page 89.]

This remarkable statement, taken by itself, would seem to be an open avowal of the Republican doctrine that Congress is the right-

ful guardian of the Territories until they are prepared for admission into the Union as States, but taken with the context, it is no less than a foreshadowing of the Dred Scott decision. In other words, it denies that species of "sovereignty" to the Territories which authorizes them to *exclude* slavery, and holds them on this point rigidly "subject to the Constitution of the United States," as interpreted by the Supreme Court. It is conclusive, however, of one thing, to-wit, that "*the sovereignty of a Territory remains in abeyance*"—that the people cannot do the things which Mr. Douglas himself proclaimed they might do—that they cannot do those things either through a Territorial Legislature or by Mass Convention, for the reason that their sovereignty is "suspended in the United States, in trust for the people, UNTIL THEY SHALL BE ADMITTED INTO THE UNION AS A STATE."

HE DEFENDS THE BORDER RUFFIANS OF MISSOURI.

In the same report, on page 9 thereof, Mr. Douglas defended the Border Ruffian invaders of Kansas, as follows:

"The natural consequence was that immediate steps were taken by the people of the western counties of Missouri to stimulate, organize and carry into effect a system of emigration, similar to that of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, for the avowed purpose of counteracting the effects and protecting themselves and their domestic institutions from the consequences of that company's operations. The material difference in the character of the two rival and conflicting movements consists in the fact that *the one had its origin in an AGGRESSIVE and the other in a DEFENSIVE policy.*"

HE DECLARES THE BOGUS LEGISLATURE OF KANSAS TO HAVE BEEN VALID.

In the same report, and on page 15 thereof, Mr. Douglas asserted the validity of the bogus legislature and its acts, as follows:

"So far as the question involves THE LEGALITY OF THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE AND THE VALIDITY OF ITS ACTS, it is entirely immaterial whether we adopt the reasoning and conclusion of the minority or majority reports, for each proves that the LEGISLATURE WAS LEGALLY AND DULY CONSTITUTED."

HE SAYS THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS MUST BE "SUBDUED."

In the same report, and on page 40 thereof, he advocates the subjection of the people of Kansas, in the following words:

"In this connection, your Committee feel sincere satisfaction in commending the messages and proclamations of the President, in which we have the gratifying assurance that the supremacy of the laws will be maintained; that rebellion will be crushed; * * * that the federal and local laws will be vindicated against all attempts of organized resistance."

And again, in his speech of March 12th, 1856:

"The minority report advocates foreign interference; we advocate self-government and non-interference. We are ready to meet the issue, and there will be no dodging. We intend to meet it boldly; TO REQUIRE SUBMISSION TO THE LAWS AND TO THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES; TO REDUCE TO SUB-

JECTION THOSE WHO RESIST THEM, AND TO PUNISH REBELLION AND TREASON. I am glad that a defiant spirit is exhibited here: we accept the issue."—*Congressional Globe*, part 1, 1855-56, page 639.

HE THINKS SENATOR SUMNER SHOULD BE "KICKED LIKE A DOG."

On the 20th day of May, 1856, Mr. Douglas indulged in the following language, in reply to Senator Sumner—the day on which he was bludgeoned by Preston S. Brooks:

"It is his object to provoke some of us to KICK HIM AS WE WOULD A DOG! A hundred times has he called the Nebraska Bill a swindle—an act of infamy, and each time went on to illustrate the complicity of each man who voted for it, in perpetrating the crime. * * * How dare he approach one of these gentlemen, to give him his hand, after that act? If he felt the courtesies between men, he would not do it. He would deserve to have himself SPIT IN THE FACE for doing so."—*Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1855-56, page 545.

HE VINDICATES DAVID R. ATCHISON.

In the same speech, and on the same day, Mr. Douglas proceeded to vindicate David R. Atchison, of Missouri, who was then leading a company of Border Ruffians against Kansas, in the following eulogistic terms:

"The Senator has also made an assault on the late President of the Senate—General Atchison—a GENTLEMAN OF AS KIND A NATURE, OF AS GRACIOUS AND TRUE A HEART AS EVER ANIMATED A HUMAN SOUL. He is impulsive and generous, carrying his good qualities sometimes to an excess, which induces him to say and do many things that would not meet my approval; but all who know him, know him to be a GENTLEMAN AND AN HONEST MAN—true and loyal to the Constitution of his country."—*Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1855-56, page 546.

HE THINKS SENATOR TRUMBULL IS A TRAITOR, AND THAT ALL TRAITORS SHOULD BE HUNG.

The following extract from Mr. Douglas' speech on Kansas affairs, in the Senate, March 20th, 1856, is submitted without comment. The language is sufficiently direct for the comprehension of all fair-minded men:

"A word or two more on another point and I will close. My colleague has made an assault on the President of the United States for his efforts to vindicate the supremacy of the laws, and put down insurrection and rebellion in the Territory of Kansas. In my opinion, the President of the United States is entitled to the thanks of the whole country for the promptness and energy with which he has met the crisis. It was his imperative duty to maintain the supremacy of the laws, and see that they are faithfully executed. It was his duty to suppress rebellion and put down treason. My colleague says that it will be necessary to catch the traitor before the President can hang him. My opinion is that, from the signs of the times, and in view of all that is passing around us, as well as at a distance, there will be very little difficulty in arresting the traitors—and that, too, WITHOUT GOING ALL THE WAY TO KANSAS TO FIND THEM! [Laughter.] This government has shown itself the most powerful of any on earth in all respects except one. It has shown itself equal to foreign war or to domestic defence; equal to any emergency that may arise in the exercise of its high functions in all things EXCEPT THE POWER TO HANG A TRAITOR!

I trust in God that the time is not near at hand, and that it may never come, when it will be the imperative duty of those charged with the faithful execution of the laws, to exercise that power. I trust that calmer and wiser counsels will prevail; that passion may subside,

and reason and loyalty return, before the overt act shall be committed. I fervently hope that the occasion may never arise which shall render it necessary to test the power of the Government and the firmness of the executive in this respect; but if, unfortunately, that contingency shall happen; if treason against the United States shall be consummated, far be it from my purpose to express the wish that the penalty of the law may not fall upon the traitor's head!"—*Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 1855-56, page 288.*

HE ENDEAVORS TO BRING KANSAS INTO THE UNION WITHOUT HAVING HER CONSTITUTION SUBMITTED TO THE PEOPLE.

On the 25th of June, 1856, while the bill for the admission of Kansas was pending in the Senate, Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, introduced an amendment, which was ordered to be printed, and, with the original bill and other amendments, recommended to the Committee on Territories, of which Mr. Douglas was Chairman. This amendment of Mr. Toombs, printed by order of the Senate provided for the appointment of commissioners who were to take a census of Kansas, divide the Territory into election districts, and superintend the election of delegates to form a Constitution, and contains a clause in the 18th section requiring the Constitution which should be formed to be submitted to the people for adoption, as follows:

"That the following propositions be and the same are hereby offered to the said Convention of the people of Kansas, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection; which, if accepted by the Convention, AND RATIFIED BY THE PEOPLE AT THE ELECTION FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, shall be obligatory on the United States, and upon the said State of Kansas, etc."

This amendment of Mr. Toombs was referred to the committee of which Mr. Douglas was Chairman, and reported back by him on the 30th of June, with the words "And ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the Constitution" *stricken out*. On the 9th of December, 1857, Senator Bigler explained how the submission clause came to be stricken out, as follows:

"I was present when that subject was discussed by Senators, before the bill was introduced, and the question was raised and discussed whether the Constitution, when formed, should be submitted to a vote of the people. It was held by the most intelligent on the subject, that in view of all the difficulties surrounding that Territory, the danger of any experiment at that time of a popular vote, it would be better that THERE SHOULD BE NO SUCH PROVISION IN THE TOOMBS' BILL; and it is my understanding in all the intercourse I had, that that Convention would make a Constitution and send it here WITHOUT SUBMITTING IT TO THE POPULAR VOTE."—*Cong. Globe, part 1, 1857-8, page 21.*

Referring to same subject again on the 21st of December, 1857, Mr. Bigler continued:

"Nothing was farther from my mind than to allude to any social or confidential interview. The meeting was not of that character. Indeed, it was semi-official, and called to promote the public good. My recollection was clear that I left the conference under the impression that it had been deemed best to adopt measures to admit Kansas as a State through the agency of one popular election, and that for delegates to the Convention. This impression was the stronger, because I thought the spirit of the bill infringed upon the doctrine of non-intervention, to which I had great aversion; but with the hope of accomplishing great good, and as no movement had been made in that direction in the Territory, I waived this objection, and concluded

to support the measure. I have a few items of testimony as to the correctness of these impressions, and with their submission I shall be content. I have before me the bill reported by the Senator from Illinois, on the 7th of March, 1856, providing for the admission of Kansas as a State, the third section of which reads as follows:

"That the following propositions be, and the same are hereby offered to the said Convention of the people of Kansas, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection; which, if accepted by the Convention and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the Constitution, shall be obligatory upon the United States, and upon the said State of Kansas."

"The bill read in place by the Senator from Georgia, on the 25th of June, and referred to the Committee on Territories, contained the same section, word for word. Both these bills were under consideration at the conference referred to, but, sir, when the Senator from Illinois reported the Toombs bill to the Senate, with amendments, the next morning, it did not contain that portion of the third section which indicated to the Convention that the Constitution should be approved by the people. The words 'and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the Constitution,' had been stricken out."—*Congressional Globe, part 1, 1857-58, pages 118 and 114.*

Better testimony, however, is that of Toombs himself, delivered in the Senate on the 18th of March, 1857, as follows:

"The first twelve sections provided the machinery for executing the (Toombs) bill, so that there should be no dispute as to its fairness.

"The other sections, containing only the formal parts of the bill, incident to every enabling act, I cut off with my scissors, from a printed bill before me. The first twelve sections are in my own writing. In the thirteenth section, under the usual clause, stating that the following shall be the fundamental conditions of admission, THERE WERE WORDS REQUIRING A SUBMISSION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PEOPLE. That I did not observe.

"When the bill came up for consideration between some gentlemen of the Committee and myself, there being no provision in the bill for a second election; there being no safeguards for such a popular election; the bill being incongruous as to that purpose, I suggested the striking out of this clause. It was done as the report shows. It having got there by accident, it was stricken out at my suggestion, as a matter of course. The principles upon which that measure was based, were these:—First, that all the legal voters of the Territory should have a fair opportunity, free from force or fraud, to elect a Convention, and to make a Constitution; AND THEN THAT THEY SHOULD COME INTO THE UNION, UNDER THAT CONSTITUTION, WITHOUT REFERRING EITHER THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PEOPLE, OR THE QUESTION OF ADMISSION AGAIN TO CONGRESS. It was intended as an assent to admission, in advance."—*Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 1857-58, page 127.*

Best of all, however, is the testimony of Mr. Douglas, given in the Senate, on the 9th of December, 1857, as follows:

"During the last Congress I reported a bill from the Committee on Territories, to authorize the people of Kansas to assemble and form a Constitution for themselves. Subsequently the Senator from Georgia (Mr. Toombs) brought forward a substitute for my bill, which after having been modified by him and myself in consultation, was passed by the Senate."—*Cong. Globe, part 1, 1857-58, page 16.*

Bigler and Toombs having avowed their complicity in the swindle, Mr. Douglas thus makes haste to admit his share in it, by saying that it was modified "by himself and Toombs in consultation." What was the modification? Simply this: that Mr. Douglas reported the bill back, not only with the submission clause stricken out, but with a new clause inserted, which reads as follows:

"AND UNTIL THE COMPLETE EXECUTION OF THIS ACT, NO OTHER ELECTION SHALL BE HELD IN SAID TERRITORY."

Can any one fail to comprehend this clear and logical chain of evidence? At the time when Douglas and Toombs were at work on their precious conspiracy, Kansas was in the hands of the Border Ruffians, and entirely at their mercy. The Territorial office holders were nearly all assassins and outlaws. The Federal troops were either assisting or conniving at the Missouri invasion. Under these circumstances is there any doubt *what kind* of a Constitution would have been made by the Buford-Atchison gang who were then ravaging Kansas, when they understood perfectly that their act would be conclusive of the destinies of the Territory, and when Douglas had especially provided that "until the complete execution of the act, *no other election shall be held in the Territory?*"

HE ENDORSES THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION IN ADVANCE.

On the 12th of June, 1857, Mr. Douglas made his "Grand Jury" speech, so-called, at Springfield, to which one reference has already been made. The following extracts from this speech are taken from the phonographic report published in the Missouri *Republican* of June 18th, 1857. The famous Lecompton Convention had just been called by the bogus Legislature, and on this topic he spoke as follows:

"Kansas is about to speak for herself through her delegates assembled in convention to form a constitution, preparatory to her admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. Peace and prosperity now prevail throughout her borders. The law under which her delegates are to be elected is believed to be just and fair in all its objects and provisions. If any portion of the inhabitants, acting under the advice of political leaders in distant States, shall choose to absent themselves from the polls, and withhold their votes, with a view of leaving the Free State Democrats in a minority, and thus securing a pro-slavery constitution in opposition to a majority of the people living under it, let the responsibility rest on those who, for partisan purposes, will sacrifice the principles they profess to cherish and promote."

HE SAYS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS NOT INTENDED TO INCLUDE "ALL MEN."

In the same speech, Mr. Douglas ventilated his views of the Declaration of Independence, as follows:

"The signers of the Declaration of Independence, referred to white man, and to him alone, when they declared that all men were created equal. They were in a struggle with Great Britain. The principle they were asserting was THAT A BRITISH SUBJECT BORN IN AMERICAN SOIL, WAS EQUAL TO A BRITISH SUBJECT BORN IN ENGLISH SOIL. — In a British subject here, was entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities, under the British Constitution that a British subject in England enjoyed; that their rights were inalienable, and hence, that Parliament, whose power was omnipotent, had no power to alienate them."

It appears thus, that in Mr. Douglas' opinion not only the African race, but the German, Italian, French, Scandinavian, and, indeed, every nation except the English, Irish, Scotch and American, are excluded from all part or lot in the Declaration of Independence. The phrase "all men," does not refer to them. They have no business with the Fourth of

July. It is to be observed that in this matter Mr. Douglas has outrun the Dred Scott decision itself, which, after quoting the language of the Declaration of Independence, says:

"The general words above quoted would seem to embrace the whole human family, and if they were used in a similar instrument at this day, would be so understood. But it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this declaration."

HE SAYS SLAVERY IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES OF CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

In the same speech Mr. Douglas gave utterance to the following atrocious sentiments on slavery in the abstract:

"At that day the negro was looked upon as a being of an inferior race. All history had proved that in no part of the world or the world's history, had the negro ever shown himself capable of self-government, and it was not the intention of the founders of this government to violate that great law of God which made the distinction between the white and the black man. *That distinction is plain and palpable, and it has been the rule of civilization and christianity the world over, that whenever any man or set of men were incapable of taking care of themselves, they should consent to be governed by those who are capable of managing their affairs for them.*"

In revising the Missouri *Republican's* report of this speech, for publication in the *State Register*, Mr. Douglas or some discreet friend omitted this obnoxious paragraph. But that does not relieve him from the responsibility of it, because we find the same idea, in nearly the same language, in his Chicago speech of October 23d, 1860, as published in Sheahan's *Life of Douglas*, to-wit:

"The civilized world have always held that when any race of men have shown themselves so degraded by ignorance, superstition, cruelty and barbarism as to be utterly incapable of governing themselves, they must, in the nature of things, be governed by others, by such laws as are deemed applicable to their condition."—[Sheahan's *Life of Douglas*, page 184]

This is popular sovereignty with a vengeance!

HE URGES THAT SLAVERY SHOULD LAST FOREVER.

In his joint debate with Mr. Lincoln, at Quincy, Illinois, Mr. Douglas frankly confessed that his "great principle" contemplated that slavery should last forever. He said:

"In this State we have declared that a negro shall not be a citizen and we have also declared that he shall not be a slave. We had a right to adopt that policy. *Missouri has just as good a right to adopt the other policy.* I am now speaking of rights under the Constitution, and not of moral or religious rights. I do not discuss the morals of the people of Missouri, but let them settle that matter for themselves. I hold that the people of the slaveholding States are civilized men as well as ourselves; that they bear consciences as well as we, and that they are accountable to God and their posterity, and not to us. It is for them to decide, therefore, the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves within their own limits. I assert that they had as much right under the Constitution to adopt the system of policy which they have, as we had to adopt ours. So it is with every other State in this Union. Let each State stand firmly by that great Constitutional right, let each State mind its own business and let its neighbors alone, and there will be no trouble on this question. If we will stand by that principle, then Mr. Lincoln will find that this Republic CAN EXIST FOREVER DIVIDED INTO FREE AND

SLAVE STATES as our fathers made it and the people of each State have decided."—[Lincoln and Douglas Debates of 1858—page 209.]

Again; in his Sedition Law speech, of January 23d, 1860, he argued for the perpetuity of slavery as follows:

"Mr. Lincoln says:—'A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free.'

"What is the meaning of that language, unless it is that the Union cannot permanently exist, half slave and half free—that it must all become one thing or all become the other! The declaration is that the North must combine as a sectional party, and carry on the agitation so fiercely, up to the very borders of the slaveholding States, that the master dare not sleep at night for fear that the robbers, the John Browns, will come and set his house on fire, and murder the women and children before morning. It is to surround the slaveholding States by a cordon of free States, to use the language of the Senator; to hem them in, in order that you may smother them out. The Senator avowed, in his speech to-day, their object to be to hem in the slave States, in order that slavery may die out. How die out? Confine it to its present limits; let the ratio of increase go on by the laws of nature; and just in proportion as the lands in the slaveholding States wear out, the negroes increase, and you will soon reach that point where the soil will not produce enough to feed the slaves; then hem them in, and let them starve out, let them die out by starvation. This is the policy—hem them in, and starve them out. Do as the French did in Algeria, when the Arabs took to the caverns—smoke them out, by making fires at the mouths of the caverns, and keep them burning until they die. The policy is, to keep up this agitation along the line; make slave property insecure in the border States; keep the master constantly in apprehension of assault till he will consent to abandon his native country, leaving his slaves behind him, or to remove them further South. If you can force Kentucky thus to abolish slavery, you make Tennessee the border State, and begin the same operation upon her.

"Sir, I confess the object of the legislation I contemplate, is to put down this outside interference; it is to repress this irrepressible conflict; it is to bring the Government back to the true principles of the Constitution, and let each people in this Union rest secure in the enjoyment of domestic tranquility, without apprehension from neighboring States."—*Cong. Globe*, 1859-60, pages 553, 554.

HE THINKS SLAVERY IS A MERE QUESTION OF DOLLARS AND CENTS.

Shortly after the Illinois election of 1858, Mr. Douglas made a southern tour, stopping at St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans, and addressing the people at those places on political topics. He spoke at Memphis, on the 29th of November, and the following is an extract from his speech as reported phonographically in the *Memphis Avalanche*:

"Whenever a Territory has a climate, soil and productions making it the interest of the inhabitants to encourage slave property they will pass a slave code and give it encouragement. Whenever the climate, soil and productions preclude the possibility of slavery being profitable, they will not permit it. You come right back to the principle of dollars and cents. I do not care where the immigration in the southern country comes from;—if old Joshua R. Giddings should raise a colony in Ohio and settle down in Louisiana, he would be the strongest advocate of Slavery in the whole South; he would find, when he got there, his opinion of slavery would be very much modified; he would find on those sugar plantations that it was not a question between the white man and the negro but between the negro and the crocodile. He would say that between the negro and the crocodile he took the side of the negro; but between the negro and the white man, he would go for the white man."

Again, in his speech of February 29th, 1860, in the Senate, in the course of his assault on Senator Seward, he said:

"We in Illinois tried Slavery while we were a Territory, and found it was not profitable; and hence we turned philanthropists and abolished it."—*Congressional Globe*, 1859-60; page 915.

And again in the same discussion:

"But they, (the people of Illinois,) said 'experience proves that it is not going to be profitable in this climate.' They had no scruples about it. Every one of them was nursed by it. His father and his mother held slaves. They had no scruple about its being right, but they said, 'we cannot make any money by it, and as our State runs away off north, up to those eternal snows, perhaps we shall gain population faster if we stop Slavery and invite in the Northern population; and as a matter of political policy, State policy, they prohibited Slavery themselves.'—*Congressional Globe* 1859-60; page 919.

HE SAYS THE ALMIGHTY HAS REQUIRED THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY!

In the Memphis speech, following immediately after the extract quoted above, from the *Avalanche*, comes the following blasphemous declaration:

"The Almighty has drawn the line on this continent on one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor. That line did not run on thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, for thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes runs over mountains and through valleys. But this Slave line meanders in the sugar fields and plantations of the South—[the remainder of the sentence was lost by the confusion around the reporter.] And the people living in the different localities and in the Territories must determine for themselves whether their 'middle bed' is best adapted for slave or free labor."

HE SAYS THAT SLAVES ARE RECOGNIZED AS "PROPERTY" BY THE CONSTITUTION.

On the 6th of December, 1858, Mr. Douglas spoke at New Orleans. The following quotation from his speech is taken from the report in the New Orleans *Delta*:

"I, in common with the Democracy of Illinois, accept the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, as an authoritative exposition of the Constitution. Whatever limitations the Constitution, as expounded by the Court, impose on the authority of a Territorial Legislature, we cheerfully recognize and respect in conformity with that decision. Slaves are recognized as property, and placed on an equal footing with all other property. Hence, the owner of Slaves—the same as the owner of any other species of property—has a right to remove to a Territory and carry his property with him."

HE REPEATS THAT SLAVES MAY BE TAKEN TO THE TERRITORIES LIKE OTHER PROPERTY.

Some of the Douglas organs in the North have undertaken to say that their champion never uttered the words quoted above from his New Orleans speech. They will hardly deny, however, that he repeated it even more offensively in the Senate, on the 23d of February, 1859, in a debate with Jeff. Davis, when he said:

"I do not put Slavery on a different footing from other property. I recognize it as property under what is understood to be the decision of the Supreme Court. I argue that the owner of slaves HAS THE SAME RIGHT TO REMOVE TO THE TERRITORIES AND CARRY HIS SLAVE PROPERTY WITH HIM AS

THE OWNER OF ANY OTHER SPECIES OF PROPERTY, and hold the same, subject to such local laws as the Territorial Legislature may Constitutionally pass, and if any person shall feel aggrieved by such local legislation, he may appeal to the Supreme Court to test the validity of such laws. I recognize slave property to be on an equality with all other property, and apply the same rules to it. I will not apply one rule to slave property and another to all other kind of property."—*Congressional Globe*, 1858-9, part 2, page 1256.

And again:

"Slaves, according to that decision, being property, stand on an equal footing with all other property. THERE IS JUST AS MUCH OBLIGATION ON THE PART OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE TO PROTECT SLAVES AS EVERY OTHER SPECIES OF PROPERTY, AS THERE IS TO PROTECT HORSES, CATTLE, DRY GOODS, LIQUORS, &c."—*Cong. Globe*, same vol., page 1258.

And again:

"Hence, under the Constitution, there is no power to prevent a Southern man going into the Territories with his slaves, more than a Northern man."—*Mr. Douglas' Memphis Speech*, Nov. 29th, 1858, as published in the *Avanturier*.

WHAT HE IS OBLIGED TO DO IN THE PREMISES.

In his letter replying to Judge Black's criticism on his Harper's Magazine article, Mr. Douglas took pains to tell what he deemed all persons obliged to do who hold that slavery exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution. He said:

"In that article, without assailing any one, or impugning any man's motive, I demonstrated, beyond the possibility of cavil or dispute, if slavery exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution, the conclusion is inevitable and irresistible, THAT IT IS THE IMPERATIVE DUTY OF CONGRESS TO PASS ALL LAWS NECESSARY FOR ITS PROTECTION; THAT THERE IS AND CAN BE NO EXCEPTION TO THE RULE, THAT A RIGHT GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE PROTECTED BY LAW IN ALL CASES, WHERE LEGISLATION IS ESSENTIAL TO ITS ENJOYMENT. That all who believe that slavery exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution are bound by their conscience, and oaths of fidelity to the Constitution to support a Congressional slave code in the Territories."

This direct and unequivocal statement of the duty of those who believe that slavery exists in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution, narrows the whole controversy between Douglas and Breckinridge down to a quibble, to wit: Is the right to carry slave property into the Territories, which Mr. Douglas concedes in the extracts quoted above, equivalent to the existence of slavery in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution? To use the brief and concise phrase employed by Mr. Lincoln in his Columbus speech, "can a thing be lawfully driven away from a place where it has a lawful right to be?" Which faction of the Democracy has the advantage of logic and truthfulness in this controversy?

HE GOES AGAIN FOR SUPREME COURT SOVEREIGNTY.

In his speech of February 23d, 1860, already referred to, Mr. Douglas again declared himself ready to follow the Supreme Court to the crushing out of Popular Sovereignty. He said:

"When the Supreme Court shall decide upon the constitutionality of the local [Territorial] laws, I AM PREPARED TO ABIDE BY THE DECISION WHATEVER IT MAY BE, AND HAVE IT EXECUTED IN GOOD FAITH AS WELL AS IN OTHER CASES."—*Congressional Globe*, 1858-59, part 2, page 1259.

And again, in his speech of May 16th, 1860, having read the Tennessee Compromise resolution offered at the Charleston Convention, which was as follows:

"That all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territories, and that under the decision of the Supreme Court which we recognize as an exposition of the Constitution, neither their rights of person or property can be destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation,"

—he proceeded to remark:

"The second proposition is, that a right of person or property, secured by the Constitution, cannot be taken away by act of Congress or of the Territorial Legislature. Who ever dreamed that either Congress or a Territorial Legislature, or any other legislative body on earth could destroy or impair any right guaranteed or secured by the Constitution? No man that I know of."—*Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1859-60, page 816.

HE TELLS HOW TO CARRY OUT SUPREME COURT SOVEREIGNTY.

In the same speech, (May 16th, 1860,) he tells how to carry out Supreme Court Sovereignty, as follows:

"When that case shall arise, and the Court shall pronounce its judgment, it will be binding on me, on you, sir, and on every good citizen. It must be carried out in good faith; AND ALL THE POWER OF THIS GOVERNMENT—THE ARMY, THE NAVY, AND THE MILITIA—ALL THAT WE HAVE—MUST BE EXERTED TO CARRY THE DECISION INTO EFFECT IN GOOD FAITH, IF THERE BE RESISTANCE."—*Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1859-60, page 811.

HE GOES FOR A SEDITION LAW.

On the 23d of January, 1860, Mr. Douglas made his famous speech in favor of a new Sedition Law, for the purpose of "suppressing the irrepressible conflict." Senator Mason had already introduced a resolution for the appointment of a select Committee to investigate the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, and to report whether any further legislation was necessary in the premises. Nevertheless, Mr. Douglas introduced the following additional resolution:

"Resolved, That the Committee of the Judiciary be instructed to report a bill for the protection of each State and Territory of the Union against invasion by the authorities or inhabitants of any other State or Territory; and for the suppression and punishment of conspiracies or combinations in any State or Territory with intent to invade, assault, or molest the government, inhabitants, property, or institutions of any other State or Territory of the Union."

Upon this resolution he made a speech, on the 23d of January, as aforesaid, from which the following are consecutive extracts:

"The question, then, is, what legislation is necessary and proper to render this guarantee of the Constitution effectual? I presume there will be very little difference of opinion that it will be necessary to place the whole military power of the Government at the disposal of the President, under proper guards and restrictions against abuse, to repel and suppress invasion when the hostile force shall be actually in the field. But, sir, that is not sufficient. Such legislation would not be

a full compliance with this guarantee of the Constitution. The framers of that instrument meant more when they gave that guarantee. Mark the difference in language between the provision for protecting the United States against invasion and that for protecting the States. When it provided for protecting the United States, it said Congress shall have power to "repel invasion." When it came to make this guarantee to the States it changed the language and said the United States shall "protect" each of the States against invasion.

"Then, sir, I hold that it is not only necessary to use the military power when the actual case of invasion shall occur, but to authorize the judicial department of the Government to suppress all conspiracies and combinations in the several States *with intent* to invade a State, or molest or disturb its government, its peace, its cities, its property, or its institutions. You must punish the conspiracy, the combination *with intent* to do the act, and then you will suppress it in advance.

"It cannot be said that the time has not yet arrived for such legislation. It is only necessary to inquire into the causes which produced the Harper's Ferry outrage, and ascertain whether those causes are yet in active operation, and then you can determine whether there is any ground for apprehension that the invasion will be repeated. Without stopping to adduce evidence in detail, I have no hesitation in expressing my firm and deliberate conviction that THE HARPER'S FERRY CRIME WAS THE NATURAL, LOGICAL, INEVITABLE RESULT OF THE DOCTRINES AND TEACHINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AS EXPLAINED AND ENFORCED IN THEIR PLATFORM, THEIR PARTISAN PRESS, THEIR PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE SPEECHES OF THEIR LEADERS IN AND OUT OF CONGRESS.

"And, sir, inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States confers upon Congress the power coupled with the duty of protecting each State against external aggression, and inasmuch as that includes the power of suppressing and punishing conspiracies in one State against the institutions, property, people, or government of every other State, *I desire to carry out the power vigorously.* Sir, give us a law as the Constitution contemplates and authorizes, and I will show the Senator from New York that there is a constitutional mode of repressing the 'irrepressible conflict.' *I will open the prison door to allow conspirators against the peace of the Republic and the domestic tranquillity of our States to select their cells wherein to drag out a miserable life, as a punishment for their crimes against the peace of society!!!*

"Can any man say to us that although this outrage has been perpetrated at Harper's Ferry, there is no danger of its recurrence? Sir, is not the Republican party still embodied, organized, confident of success, and defiant in its pretensions? Does it not now hold and proclaim the same creed that it did before the invasion? Is it true that most of its representatives here disavow the act of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. I am glad that they do so; I am rejoiced that they have gone thus far; but I must be permitted to say to them that it is not sufficient that they disavow the act, unless they also repudiate and denounce the doctrines and teachings which produced the act. Those doctrines remain the same; those teachings are being poured into the minds of men throughout the country by means of speeches and pamphlets and books, and through partisan presses.

"Mr. President, the mode of preserving peace is plain. This system of sectional warfare must cease. The Constitution has given the power, and all we ask of Congress is to give the means; and we, BY INDICTMENT AND CONVICTIONS IN THE FEDERAL COURTS OF OUR SEVERAL STATES, WILL MAKE SUCH EXAMPLES OF THE LEADERS OF THESE CONSPIRATORS AS WILL STRIKE TERROR INTO THE HEARTS OF THE OTHERS, AND THERE WILL BE AN END OF THIS CRUSADE."—*Congressional Globe*, 1859-60, pages 552, 553.

The following is an extract from the old Sedition Law of 1798, which very nearly revolutionized the country—utterly ruined and destroyed the Federal party which took the responsibility of enacting it—and against

which Thomas Jefferson and his friends fulminated the famous "Resolutions of '98," adopted by the Virginia and Kentucky Legislatures:

"*And be it further enacted, That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, uttered or published, or shall knowingly or willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings, against the Government of the United States or either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said Government, or either House of the Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States; or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the Constitution of the United States; then such person being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction therein, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years."*

The difference between this Sedition Law and the one advocated by Mr. Douglas is, that the former sought to punish the expression of opinions against the constituted authorities of the United States, while the latter seeks to punish the expression of opinions against human slavery. Under Douglas' proposed law, Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, and nearly all the founders of the Republic, would be liable, if still living, to "indictments and convictions in our Federal courts."

THE UPSEOT OF JOHN BROWN'S INVASION OF VIRGINIA.

This is a proper place to inquire what state of facts existed, calling for Mr. Douglas' furious onslaught on the people of the North, and his malignant proposition to "open the prison doors and allow conspirators against the tranquillity of States to select cells wherein to drag out a miserable life." The Select Committee of the Senate, appointed to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair, consisting of Messrs. Mason, Davis, Fitch, Collamer and Doolittle, commenced their labors on the 16th of December, 1859, and continued their sessions until the 14th of June, 1860. During this time they examined thirty-two witnesses from various parts of the country, and it is presumed they arrived at the facts of the case as nearly as it was possible to reach them. On the 15th of June, the majority of the Committee made a report in which they say:

"The Committee, after much consideration, are not prepared to suggest any legislation which, in their opinion, would be adequate to prevent like occurrences in the future. The only provisions in the Constitution of the United States which would seem to import any authority in the Government of the United States to interfere on occasions affecting the peace or safety of the States are found in the 8th section of the 1st article, amongst the powers of Congress, to provide for calling for Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; and in the 4th section of the 4th article in the following words: 'The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on the applica-

tion of the legislature or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.' The 'invasion' here spoken of would seem to import an invasion by the public force of a foreign power, or (if not so limited and equally referable to an invasion of one State by another,) still it would seem that public force, or force exercised under the sanction of acknowledged political power, is there meant. The invasion (to call it so) by Brown and his followers at Harper's Ferry was in no sense of that character. IT WAS SIMPLY THE ACT OF LAWLESS RUFIANS UNDER THE SANCTION OF NO PUBLIC OR POLITICAL POWER," etc.—*Report of Select Committee of the Senate on the Harper's Ferry affair; page 18.*

This report is signed "J. M. Mason, Chairman, Jefferson Davis, G. N. Fitch." It ought to be good authority on the question whether any laws are required "to punish conspiracies and combinations with intent to do the act," as also on the other question whether the Republican party is responsible for John Brown's raid.

MR. DOUGLAS JUSTIFIES DISUNION.

In the Sedition Law speech, above referred to, Mr. Douglas went so far as to justify the crime of disunion unless Congress should enact the sort of law which he there proposed. As he is now charging disunion quite furiously against the Breckinridge faction, it is proper to show that less than one year ago he was encouraging the same thing himself. He said:

"If the people of this country shall settle down into the conviction that there is no power in the Federal Government to protect each, and every State from violence, from aggression, from invasion, THEY WILL DEMAND THAT THE CORD BE SEVERED and the weapons be restored to their hands with which they may defend themselves. THIS INQUIRY INVOLVES THE QUESTION OF THE PERPETUITY OF THE UNION."—*Congressional Globe, 1859-60; page 552.*

JEFF. DAVIS REPUDIATES THE SEDITION LAW.

Two days after the Sedition law speech, Senator Davis took the floor and repudiated the whole thing as an alarming encroachment on the rights of the people. He said:

"I welcome, sir, the apprehensions of the President of the United States, and never would I enact a law which would clothe the executive with the power to call out the militia, to bring the army and the navy TO INVAD A STATE TO DISCOVER WHO WITHIN THAT STATE HAD IN HIS BREAST THE PURPOSE AT SOME FUTURE DAY TO COMMIT CRIME. If there be unlawful, treasonable organizations within a State, it belongs to the State sovereignty to inquire and to punish the offender. * * * * * It is proper for me, Mr. President, to say that it is in no feeling of partisan warfare between me and the Senator and the President, if any such exist, that I have made the explanation. It is the deep interest I feel for the preservation of sound principles and the restriction of the Federal Government from striding over the sovereignties of the States to usurp such centralizing power, under the promptings of a momentary expediency, as would destroy the great charter of our liberty, and reduce the people to that condition from which they rose—THE SUBJECTS OF A GOVERNMENT NOT WITHIN THEIR CONTROL."—*Cong. Globe, 1859-60; pages 559, 560.*

MR. DOUGLAS TELLS WHAT "POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY" HAS DONE.

It will be admitted that Mr. Douglas is a good judge of what his dogma of "Popular Sovereignty" has accomplished during the

past six years. Therefore, we let him tell the result in his own words, quoting from his speech in the Senate on the 16th of May, 1860, as printed in the Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*:

"But we are told that the necessary result of this doctrine of non-intervention, which gentlemen, by way of throwing ridicule upon, call squatter sovereignty, is to deprive the South of all participation in what they call common Territories of the United States. That was the ground on which the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) predicated his opposition to the compromise measures of 1850. He regarded a refusal to repeal the Mexican law as equivalent to the Wilmot Proviso; a refusal to recognize by an act of Congress the right to carry a slave there as equivalent to the Wilmot Proviso; a refusal to deny to a Territorial Legislature the right to exclude slavery as equivalent to an exclusion. He believed at that time that this doctrine did amount to a denial of southern rights, and he told the people of Mississippi so; but they doubted it. Now, let us see how far his predictions and suppositions have been verified. I infer that he told the people so, for as he makes a charge in his bill of indictment against me, that I am hostile to Southern rights, because I gave those votes.

"Now, what has been the result? My views were incorporated into the compromise measures of 1850, and his were rejected. Has the South been excluded from all the territory acquired from Mexico? What says the bill from the House of Representatives now on your table, repealing the slave code in New Mexico, established by the people themselves? It is part of the history of the country, that under the doctrine of non-intervention, this doctrine that you delight to call squatter sovereignty, the people of New Mexico have introduced and protected slavery in the whole of that Territory. UNDER THIS DOCTRINE THEY HAVE CONVERTED A TRACT OF FREE TERRITORY INTO SLAVE TERRITORY, MORE THAN FIVE TIMES THE SIZE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. UNDER THIS DOCTRINE, SLAVERY HAS BEEN EXTENDED FROM THE RIO GRANDE TO THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA, AND FROM THE LINE OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO, NOT ONLY UP TO 36 deg. 30 min., BUT UP TO 38 deg. GIVING YOU A DEGREE AND A HALF MORE SLAVE TERRITORY THAN YOU EVER CLAIMED. In 1848 and 1849 and 1850, you only asked to have the line of 36 deg. 30 min. The Nashville Convention fixed that as its ultimatum. I offered it in the Senate, in August 1848, and it was adopted here, but rejected in the House of Representatives. You asked only up to 36 deg. 30 min., and non-intervention has given you SLAVE TERRITORY UP TO 38 deg.—A DEGREE AND A HALF MORE THAN YOU ASKED; and yet you say that this is a sacrifice of Southern rights?

"These are the fruits of this principle which the Senator from Mississippi regards as hostile to the rights of the South. Where did you ever get any other fruits that were more palatable to your taste or refreshing to your strength? What other inch of free territory has been converted into slave territory on the American continent, since the Revolution, except in New Mexico and Arizona, under the principle of non-intervention affirmed at Charleston. If it be true that this principle of non-intervention has conferred upon you all that immense territory; has protected slavery in that comparatively northern and cold region, where you did not expect it to go, cannot you trust the same principle further South when you come to acquire additional territory from Mexico? If it be true that this principle of non-intervention, has given to slavery, all of New Mexico, which was surrounded on nearly every side by free territory, will not the same principle protect you in the northern States of Mexico, when they are acquired, since they are now surrounded by slave territory; are several hundred miles further south; have many degrees of greater heat; and have a climate and soil adapted to southern products? Are you not satisfied with these practical results?"—*Appendix to Cong. Globe, 1859-60, page 814.*

HIS LAST FLING AT THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS.

The Hon. John Hickman, in his late speech in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, after a scathing

review of Mr. Douglass' many crimes against freedom in Kansas, says: "It is gratifying, however, to make a single remark in his favor; it is this: that he seems as willing as the most ardent of his friends to divert attention from this period of his career. I am not aware that, in either essay or address he has ventured to recur to it; but on the contrary, he seems disposed to treat as a blink in his life." Mr. Hickman has overlooked Mr. Douglass' speech in the Senate on the 29th of February last, when he repeated the most offensive and disreputable thing he ever said concerning the civil war in that Territory.

It was this:

"Popular sovereignty in Kansas was stricken down by unholy combination in New England to ship men to Kansas—ROWDIES AND VAGABONDS—with the Bible in one hand and Sharpe's rifle in the other, TO SHOOT DOWN THE FRIENDS OF FREE INSTITUTIONS AND SELF GOVERNMENT. Popular sovereignty in Kansas was stricken down by the combinations in the Northern States to carry elections under pretence of emigrant aid societies. In retaliation, Missouri formed aid societies, too; and she, following your example, sent men into Kansas, and then occurred the conflict. I condemn both, but I condemn A THOUSAND FOLD MORE those that set the example and struck the first blow than those who thought they would act on the principle of *fighting the devil with his own weapons*, and resorted to the same means that you have employed."—*Cong. Globe*, 1859-60, page 916.

PART III.—MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. DOUGLASS BELIEVES IN THE HIGHER LAW.

In his Chicago speech of October 23d, 1850, in defense of the Fugitive Slave Law, Mr. Douglass said:

"The general proposition that there is a law PARAMOUNT TO ALL HUMAN ENACTMENTS—the law of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe—I TRUST THAT NO CIVILIZED AND CHRISTIAN PEOPLE IS PREPARED TO QUESTION, MUCH LESS DENY. We should recognize, respect and revere the Divine law."—*Sheehan's Life of Douglass*; page 184.

It is true that Mr. Douglass went on to argue that the Divine law does not prescribe the forms of human government, but all his subsequent logic is not a match for the plain, unequivocal statement here given that "there is a law paramount to all human enactments!"

HE DON'T CARE WHETHER SLAVERY IS VOTED DOWN OR VOTED UP.

It was with this epigrammatic phrase that Mr. Douglass signaled his objection to the Lecompton Constitution on the 9th of December, 1857, when he spoke as follows:

"But I am told on all sides; 'oh! just wait; the pro-slavery clause will be voted down.' That does not obviate any of my obligations; it does not diminish any of them. You have no more right to force a Free State Constitution on Kansas than a Slave State Constitution. If Kansas wants a Slave State Constitution, she has a right to it; if she wants a Free State Constitution, she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I CARE NOT WHETHER IT IS VOTED DOWN OR VOTED UP."—*Cong. Globe*, 1857-58, part 1, page 18.

It is immaterial whether we take this phrase as an expression of Mr. Douglass' opinions on the abstract question of slavery, or as a definition of the views which he seeks to impress upon his followers as a leader of the Democratic party, and to incorporate in the legislation of the country as a Senator and a statesman. Yet if there is any moral difference between the two ideas, it is, doubtless, in favor of the former. As an individual he may deem slavery as good a thing as freedom, without exercising any wide-spread influence for harm. As a Senator, he cannot vote that slavery is as good as freedom, without stamping the legislation of his country with that baleful idea. As the leader of a numerous party, he cannot instill in his followers the principle that they ought not to care whether slavery be voted down or voted up, without

inoculating large numbers of them with the belief that the one is as good, as moral, as beneficial as the other.

HE THINKS "CONGRESS" MUST DETERMINE WHEN POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY SHALL BEGIN IN A TERRITORY.

In his copyright essay published in Harper's Magazine last year, Mr. Douglass substantially admits the Republican doctrine concerning the relation of Congress to the Territories, by saying:

"[Sovereignty] can only be exercised WHERE THERE ARE INHABITANTS SUFFICIENT TO CONSTITUTE A GOVERNMENT AND CAPABLE OF PERFORMING ITS VARIOUS FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES—A FACT TO BE ASCERTAINED AND DETERMINED BY CONGRESS. WHETHER THE NUMBER SHALL BE FIXED AT TEN, FIFTEEN OR TWENTY THOUSAND INHABITANTS, DOES NOT AFFECT THE PRINCIPLE."

If the number may be fixed at ten, fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants, it may of course be fixed at one hundred thousand or any other number sufficient to constitute a State.

HE IS UTTERLY OPPOSED TO "SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY."

In a colloquy with Senators Davis and Gwin, in the Senate, on the 17th of May, 1860, Mr. Douglass utterly repudiated "squatter sovereignty," in the following words:

"Regarding Squatter Sovereignty as a nickname invented by the Senator and those with whom he acts, which I have never recognized, I must leave him to define the meaning of his own term. I have denounced Squatter Sovereignty when you find it settling up a government in violation of law, as you do now at Pike's Peak. I denounced it this year. When you find an unauthorized Legislature, in violation of law, setting up a government without sanction of Congress or Court, that is Squatter Sovereignty which I oppose. There is the case of Dakota, where you have left a whole people without any law or Territorial organization, with no mode of appeal from Squatter Courts to the United States Courts to correct their decisions—that is Squatter Sovereignty in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States. There is a similar government set up over a part of California and a part of the Territory of Utah, called Nevada.

"It has a delegate here, claiming to represent it. I have denounced that as unlawful. I am opposed to all such Squatter Sovereignty. If that is what the Senator referred to, I am against it. All I say is, the people of a Territory, when they have become organized under the Constitution and laws, have legislative power over all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with

the Constitution of the United States. That is the language of the law, and if they exercise legislative powers on any subject inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, the Courts, to whom appeal may be taken under the laws, will correct their errors. That is all.—*Cong. Globe*, 1859-60; page, 2147.

HE REPUDIATES TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY, ALSO.

The following extract from Mr. Douglas' letter in reply to Judge Black's criticism on his Harper's Magazine Essay, puts everything at sixes and sevens again as regards his views of the sovereignty which belongs to the people of a Territory. In that letter he says:

"I have never said or thought that our Territories were sovereign political communities, or even limited sovereignties like the States of this Union."

And again, in a colloquy with Mr. Clay, of Alabama, in the Senate, February 23d, 1859, he was still more explicit in denying sovereignty to the Territories:

"I will answer the Senator's question. First—I do not hold that squatter sovereignty is superior to the Constitution. I HOLD THAT NO SUCH THING AS SOVEREIGN POWER ATTACHES TO A TERRITORY WHILE A TERRITORY. I hold that a Territory possesses whatever power it derives from the Constitution, under the organic act, and no more. I hold that ALL the power that a Territorial Legislature possesses is derived from the Constitution and its amendments, *under the act of Congress*; and because I held that, I denied last year that the people of a Territory, *without the consent of Congress*, could assemble at Leecompton and create an organic law for that people. I denied the validity of your Leecompton Constitution, for the reason that constitutions can only be made by sovereign power; and because the Territory was not a sovereignty, that was not a constitution but a petition."—*Cong. Globe*, 1858-59, part 2, page 1246.

It will be noticed, also, that in these remarks, Mr. Douglas supplied a link hitherto missing in the chain which binds him to the Dred Scott decision. It is this: the Supreme Court say that whereas Congress cannot prohibit slavery in the Territory, it cannot delegate such power to a Territorial Legislature. Mr. Douglas steps in at this point and says that ALL the powers vested in a Territory are derived through the act of Congress organizing it. They have no powers that are not so derived. Hence if Congress cannot prohibit slavery in a Territory, neither can the people of the Territory do so by any means whatever.

UNFRIENDLY LEGISLATION.

The doctrine of "unfriendly legislation" against the rights of property, as declared by the Dred Scott decision, was promulgated by Mr. Douglas in his debate with Mr. Lincoln, at Freeport, on the 23th of August, 1858, as follows:

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a Constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1856, and in 1858, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. IT MATTERS NOT WHAT WAY THE SUPREME COURT MAY HEREAFTER DECIDE AS TO THE ABSTRACT QUESTION WHETHER

IT MAY OR MAY NOT GO INTO A TERRITORY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, THE PEOPLE HAVE THE LAWFUL MEAN TO INTRODUCE IT OR EXCLUDE IT AS THEY PLEASE, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, NO MATTER WHAT THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT MAY BE on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."—*Lincoln and Douglas Debates*, page 95.

Let the reader contrast these utterances with the Wickliffe resolution, adopted by the Douglas National Convention, and Mr. Douglas' letter of acceptance, (page 7, ante).

A QUESTION WHICH HE WILL NOT ANSWER.

In his colloquy with Mr. Davis, in the Senate, May 17th, 1860, Mr. Douglas refused to answer the question whether he would or would not sign a bill to protect slave property in the Territories, if he were President of the United States. This is a question which has an immediate and special significance, and one which each voter has a right to put to Mr. Douglas and every other candidate for President or Vice-President. Fortunately we have Mr. Douglas' reply, or his refusal to reply on record. The colloquy was as follows:

"MR. DAVIS—If it will not embarrass the Senator, I would ask him, if, as Chief Executive of the United States, he would sign a bill to protect slave property in State, Territory or District of Columbia—an act of Congress.

"MR. DOUGLAS—It will be time enough for me or any other man to say what bills he will sign when he is in a position to execute the power.

"MR. DAVIS—I shall not ask you a question further than you wish to answer—certainly not.

MR. DOUGLAS—The Senator can ask all the questions he pleases, and I shall answer them when I please; but I was going to say that I do not recognize the right to catechise me in this way. The Senator has no right to do it after sneering at my pretensions to the place which he assumes that I desire to occupy.

"MR. DAVIS—I grant the Senator the right not to answer the question, though it seemed to me to be leading very directly up to an exact understanding between us as to what he meant by non-intervention. I, however, will not press that, or any other question, against his wishes."—*Cong. Globe*, 1859-60; page, 2147.

MR. DOUGLAS' VIEWS OF NATIONAL PARTIES AND NATIONAL CREEDS.

Since Mr. Herschel V. Johnson has been hooted down by a mob in his own State, and since the creed of the Douglas party has been tabooed in at least one-third of the States of Union, it will be interesting to all persons to learn the views of nationality entertained by Mr. Douglas himself; and it is difficult to find a broader joke with which to conclude this pleasing compilation. We close by quoting from his speech at Cincinnati, on the 9th of September, 1859, as reported in the New York Times of Sept. 12th:

"ANY POLITICAL CREED IS RADICALLY WRONG WHICH CANNOT BE PROCLAIMED IN THE SAME FORM WHEREVER THE AMERICAN FLAG WAVES OR THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION RULES."

(4)

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THE HOUR AND THE MAN.

in favor of Abraham Lincoln for President of the U. S.

It is fortunate for the country, that, in the midst of a political crisis like the present, the great issues are so distinctly made up that no man need misunderstand them. The whole excitement is about the political relations to the general government of the Negro Question; it has been fanned into a flame by the persistent discussions and harangues of public men, North and South, and will not permit the attention of the country to be turned to any legitimate topic of legislation until it has first been allayed.

There are two ultra, extreme, and fanatical parties to this question, which is the reason why it has become so threatening in its aspects: the Republicans of the North, declaring their fixed determination to keep Slavery out of the common Territories by Congressional legislation, and *by such legislation only*—although the highest judicial tribunal of the country has declared that Congress possesses no such prohibitory authority, and although they know very well, too, that no such legislation is possible; and the Disunionists of the South insisting, on their side, that Congress shall pass laws to *protect* slave property in the Territories, after it is taken into them, on the admitted ground that without such positive protection by law Slavery could not exist. The first party would legislate Slavery *out of* the Territories,—the second party would legislate it *in*. And this is the whole cause and origin of the present excitement, which threatens to engulf every thing which the human race holds precious, in general ruin. It is plain enough that between these two extremes, each of which has gained such ominous strength and magnitude, there can be no common understanding. Each professes to have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. It is likewise just as plain that a safe and constitutional course for the great body of the people, in this emergency, must lie in neither one path nor the other, but somewhere between them, and, as it happens, in a plain and well-understood measure to which *each extreme has already once agreed*.

The Compromises of 1850 were solemnly subscribed to, after long and patient discussion, by the oldest and wisest statesmen of the time. On their basis, it was agreed that, for the future, all legislation by Congress respecting the status of slavery in the Territories should be abandoned; the entire subject was to be remanded to the people of the Territories for their determination, who, being on the ground and most immediately interested, would be likely to know what they really wanted much better than members of Congress in Washington could know for them. To this pacific, fair, and sensible plan, the whole country in turn assented in

1852, and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized on the same basis in 1854. Subsequently, in 1857, the Supreme Court expressed the opinion which all citizens alike concur in and accept, that slaveholders can emigrate with their slaves to the Territories, for all the power Congress had to free the latter when there, and, of course, leaving it with the inhabitants of the Territories, through their legislatures, to extend the local protection such peculiar property requires, or to refuse it that protection altogether. Thus, then, were these two points adjusted and understood by the country: first, that slaveholders might take their slaves with them into the Territories, if they chose; but, second, that they must look to the people there to give slaves a local property value, or their peculiar claims to them were not assured: and it is solely upon these points that the party occupying a safe constitutional ground between the extremists of the North and South has taken its stand in the present campaign and crisis.

The position of that party, therefore, is just this:—the People of the Territories are alone to say whether Slavery shall exist as an institution among them, or not; and, constitutionally, they will say so, while yet in a Territorial condition, either by enacting positive local laws for its protection, or by refusing to enact such laws at all. Without such protective legislation, it is conceded on all sides, North and South, that it can have no existence. In this way the dangerous agitation is taken out of Congress, and the whole matter left, for the people themselves to settle, on a strict constitutional basis. For if the settlers, from considerations based on climate and soil, believe that negro labor is likely to be for their interest, it is manifestly proper that they should assume the responsibility of establishing it as a system; but if, on the other hand, they are averse to such a system,—whether from moral reasons, or from motives of interest, or both,—they will fail to extend to it that protection without which it can have no certain existence in any locality whatever. And they who choose to take property of so purely local a character with them into the common Territories, will do it with the knowledge beforehand that if enough others of the inhabitants are not of their own mind, they cannot demand, or expect, the passage of such laws as that sort of property requires for an existence.

Nothing is more easy than for moralists, who are apt to go off at half-cock, to declaim against the justice and righteousness of such a position in political matters; but until they can themselves furnish a fairer, better, and, all the while, more practical policy, based, too, on

exact constitutional principles, and carefully aiming to include and regard the rights, interests, and feelings of all the people of the *whole country*,—they must, if they are patriots, agree to be silent. They can devise nothing so good, in the Union; if they would carry their point out of the Union, let them dare openly to say so. It is time they were understood.

It is just as pernicious to charge, too, that those men who, with calm judgment and a wise foresight, espouse this policy, in our present critical situation,—known as the policy of NON INTERVENTION,—are therefore disposed to favor the spread and wider establishment of the institution of Negro Slavery, or are even so much as indifferent to its spread and establishment; they simply declare their unwillingness to become a meddlesome party to a question that is to be settled solely by their fellow-citizens in the Territories, feeling sure that the latter will, in good time, adjust *all questions* to their own peaceful and permanent satisfaction. They further declare, in the spirit of a true and generous patriotism, their unwillingness to involve this freest republic on the globe in a quarrel that, to-day, threatens all our more precious institutions with a common ruin. Unquestionably they entertain their individual opinions on the subject, each and all of them; but they sternly refuse to thrust in those opinions where they have no right, and where, too, they can work only the widest and wildest mischief.

Foremost among all our public men and statesmen of to-day, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS represents and embodies in his career this safe and sound political doctrine of Non-Intervention. No man living has more boldly, unflinchingly, and consistently upheld it and defended it, in all its length and breadth. He has shown that neither the flattery of friends nor the opposition of foes could for a moment shake his steadfastness where steadfastness was above all things necessary. He, pre-eminently, seems to have conceived the high patriotic spirit in which the foundations of this broad policy were laid; and, in the defence of its leading points and the thorough comprehension of its underlying principles, he has proved his perfect ability, as a statesman, to cope with the difficulties of one of the most dangerous issues that has beset us, in the whole course of our political history.

The doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, which is the legitimate fruit of this rule of Non-Intervention, has been flouted and ridiculed by the political gamblers who realize how perfectly it blocks the wicked game, in which they play with the happiness of more than thirty millions of people as a stake; they call it the hard name of an empty and sounding Abstraction!—as if it were no more than one of their own base and unworthy political *tricks*, instead of the great and enduring *principle* on which such men as Clay and Webster, Cass and Calhoun, believed this Negro Question could be settled forever!

If it is nothing more than an abstraction, of course there is no use in talking about reducing it to practice. Now will any one, who is not yet wholly delivered over to insanity, tell us if the Republican plan of legislating slavery out of the Territories can ever be put in practice under our present form of government? Or if the *fire-eating* doctrine of legislating Slavery into the Territories can be put in practice, either? And if *they* cannot, then how can it be made out that both of these extreme parties are not *themselves* abstractionists,—and that the policy of Non-Intervention is not the *only practical policy* and doctrine as yet proposed?

Suppose the Republicans do elect their President; what are they going to do next? Can they pass laws in Congress, which their Chief Executive will stand ready to enforce, with the whole army and navy of the United States at his back, forbidding slaveholders to take their slaves into the common Territories, when the highest Court of the nation has decided that they *may*? On this single issue, even if they could elect their President, the Republican party could not carry a working majority in either branch of Congress; and the only *practical* measure remaining—that of Non-Intervention,—would have to be finally adopted. Besides,—the Republicans have already accepted and indorsed this very policy of Non-Intervention; they deliberately voted in Congress, under the Crittenden-Montgomery Bill, to remand back to the people of Kansas the so-called “Lecompton Constitution,” and solemnly agreed that if the *people* declared for the establishment of slavery in their midst, *they should have it*,—but otherwise, *not*! Here, then, is an open and deliberate adoption of the policy of Non-Intervention on the part of the Republicans; it seems it was no mere abstraction two years ago, whatever they may agree for party purposes to call it to-day. And further than this, one of their prominent Senators, about the same time, introduced a bill into the Senate, giving the people of Arizona authority to elect all their territorial officers, from the Governor downwards! It surely must have been a queer abstraction, that promised to be so popular and to work so well. Have they dropped it, then, from patriotic, or from selfish and sectional motives? Is it any more of an abstraction *now*, than it was *then*? On the other hand,—could the Secessionists and Disunionists carry out their scheme for a Slave Code in the Territories? *Never*. The North would no more consent to that than the South would to the Republican plan of legislation. No sane man seriously thinks of such a thing. Besides, if the South insist on congressional legislation for Slavery, its protest against congressional legislation *inimical* to Slavery at once loses its whole force; *all interference* with the subject, on the part of Congress, has long ago been declared, both by Congress and the people of the country, full of mischief and practically impossible. The leading men of all sides have so agreed to consider it. Here,

then, stand the two extreme parties angrily facing one another; each professedly determined to carry into practice its own dogma, when it is known beforehand to be not only impracticable, but of the last danger to the continued union of these States. It is conceded that neither of these parties can carry its own plan into effect; while it is undeniable that the party occupying a safe, constitutional middle-ground between them both, and pledged to Non-Intervention from beginning to end, is the *only party* that can expect, in this present crisis, to receive the indorsement of the patriotic and peace-loving masses of the country.

This Non-Intervention policy, too, is something of a *positive* nature; it is not a mere negation, like a profession of general philanthropy without any ability to reduce itself to practice; nor, on the other hand, is it a demand, made in the spirit of a threat, that a peculiar kind of property, existing only by the law of certain localities, shall receive government protection where it can neither claim nor obtain it. The two factions that stand in such hostile attitudes over against one another put forth pretensions that can never be realized, and which they *know* can never be realized; while here is a broad, sound, safe, and *positive* measure, already agreed to once by both factions that are now engaged in opposing it, and squarely indorsed by the whole country in the Presidential years of 1852 and 1856. We hazard nothing in the assertion that this same statesmanlike measure will receive its third and final popular indorsement in the coming Fall election, and that the reliable statesman who has so courageously held all parties alike to their own sacred pledge and covenant, will be triumphantly selected to see that the legal provisions of that measure are every where faithfully and religiously executed.

The people cannot go over this ground thus hastily outlined in the above remarks, too often or with too much thoroughness. It has come to that point at last, where each one of us must sit down to ask himself in all seriousness if we can live together in peace any longer; and if it be possible, then upon what terms and conditions? The time demands the services of no mere politicians, but of statesmen only; publicists of large, varied, and thorough experience, who understand men, and comprehend the interests and sentiments of all parts of the country, and would see exact justice done to all alike.

Reflection will only make the solution proposed for our present difficulties more plain and simple to every man's comprehension. The scheme of Non-Intervention is perfectly clear to the common mind,—wears no air of fraud or trickery, has not the remotest resemblance to sectionalism, and, best and chiefest of all, asserts over again the perfect capability of man, under a free government, to fashion and establish his own political institutions. The objection so eagerly made to it, that we neglect our duty in neglecting to keep slavery out of

the Territories, is specious and sophistical; it implies, in the first place, that we lack faith in man to do for himself what shall be both right and for his highest interests,—and in the second place, that we are bound to make and keep men free from sin even against their own choice; this last is mere casuistry, and has nothing to do with politics. Politics is no abstraction, as we said before, but the veriest practicability conceivable. Moreover, if a citizen of any free State entertains so conscientious a concern about keeping slave labor out of the Territories, all he has got to do is simply to *show* his conscientiousness by removing into them at once, and fairly and openly doing what he can, and what he would have an undoubted right to do, to forward the desire nearest his heart. He would be especially anxious to do this, too, if he knew that thus he could not only strike a blow at Slavery, but perpetuate the unity and peace of the States also. Far from us would be the desire to influence his fixed opinion, or to cavil at his entertaining whatever opinions on the subject to him might seem best; we would do nothing more than suggest to him a practical, and still a peaceful, mode of furthering the aims by which he has set so large a store.

It is worth while to consider, also, that if we scout so fair, so constitutional, so democratic, and so thoroughly safe a mode of adjusting an overgrown evil at this time, on the plausible, but very untenable, ground that it is our *duty* to protect the new Territories against such an evil as slavery, and thus make the matter secure against all possible chances and mischances in the future,—we manifestly publish our belief that the citizens of the several States, in going to reside in the Territories, have parted in some mysterious way with the capacity they clearly possessed, in the States, for self-government, and are less fitted, as citizens of the Territories than as citizens of the States, to administer affairs of higher interest to themselves than to any other persons living! The very statement is sufficient to betray a shaken, if not a tottering, faith in the perpetuity of self-government, and so, of course, in the progress and exaltation of the human race. When once we declare, or even feel, a timid fear lest our citizens cannot take better care of themselves than any fostering government establishments at a distance can for them, we may as well say farewell to every thing else; for, surely, the moment the people themselves are incapable of being trusted, all else has gone by the board. It was against just this paralyzing timidity on the part of those who happened to be associated with our government at the time, that Jefferson boldly took and courageously maintained the stand he did, signaling his career as a public man as that of no other public man has been signalized in our history. It was he who laid the corner-stone of true Democracy in the immortal Declaration of Independence; and, happily for us as a people, his faith in man

never wavered, nor did his courage fail from the day on which his hand drafted that sacred chart of popular liberty till the grave finally shielded him from the venomous vituperation of his natural enemies.

It is folly to plead the duty of interference, either on moral or pecuniary grounds, where the duty of *no* interference is so obvious. No man of capacity for reflection can deny that his *highest* duty is toward the *larger* results; and these demand, both on the score of peace and permanent advantage, simply that we shall not arrogantly attempt to legislate where legislation can work nothing but mischief. Is it such a hard thing, that, having a political machine at our hands which we call Congress, we must forbear tampering and meddling where we can do no possible good? Is it always the best way to *assert* authority, whether we possess it or no, lest we may somehow be chargeable with *not having* any? And are we so very sure that we are responsible to such an extent for the conduct of our brethren in the Territories, that we must needs fashion their institutions after our own individual spirit and pattern? And, farther than that still, do we know that *we* understand their wants as sovereign citizens of a young Territory, better than they understand them? Or, finally, are they not as capable of taking care of the slavery question while in a Territorial condition, as when they afterwards come to form themselves into a State?

A very plain and ready thought will serve to dissolve the entanglement and perplexity in which many well-minded men have suffered themselves to be involved, relative to the adjustment of the whole subject. It is this: in politics, the important question is not, what, in this man's opinion, or that man's opinion, *ought* to be done, but—what, under all the circumstances and obediently, of course, to the operation of certain great underlying principles, *can* be done? If we can only fix upon an answer to this inquiry, and still preserve the spirit and follow the sense of those cardinal principles from which we draw national life and sustenance, there is an end to all our present difficulties. But if government is to be used as a missionary organ for the propagation of this doctrine of morals, or that glittering heresy, it is manifest that, in a democracy, government has ceased to subserve the just purpose of its establishment. The true democratic idea is, that "mankind is governed *too much*;" and it is a fatal error for us as a people to fall into, to expect the general government to inculcate a special code of morals, or furnish protection to a particular species of property, rather than to leave the inhabitants of each separate locality to do this, or even not do it, for themselves. However strong may be the inclination to have our brethren in the Territories as free from guile, at least, as we believe we are ourselves, it is no part of the duty of the general government to give itself any care about such concerns. Its

offices are exceedingly few and jealously limited, and its entire authority is derived from nothing but the first grants and concessions of the people themselves; therefore it cannot thrust itself in with impunity, and rarely with a healthy effect, between the people and their own clear and lasting interests.

It is high time, moreover, we had a settled and permanent TERRITORIAL SYSTEM. Our experience under the operation of the broad, democratic principles that give us national life, has certainly suggested the outline of such a system, even if it has not established a platform for the same already. We know very well that, thus far, States have been admitted into the confederacy with institutions of their own selection, and it is beyond all question that they will continue to come into the common family on the same terms, whether Congress passes the intermediate time in factious wrangling about them or not. Thus has Popular Sovereignty always vindicated itself at last, as, in this country, it always must. And this being the case, it is simply proposed now to establish a *permanent* Territorial System on that very basis,—the only one that is either consonant with the principles of our government, or acceptable to the masses in all sections of the country. The need of it is apparent enough; if nothing else went to prove it, the present condition of affairs would certainly furnish testimony of an overwhelming character. To live along together in this chronic state of wrangling and quarreling, with this inflammation of passions and constant excitement of bad blood between the two sections, is morally impossible; it must end in a fatal explosion, if it be much longer continued. Those who know and understand best about the ordinary characteristics of human nature, are well enough convinced on this point; they feel certain that this dangerous game between selfish political factions can be played with impunity no longer.

Divested of its unimportant and impracticable issues, the only question involved in relation to the Territories is, after all, whether Congress possesses the power to form *political institutions* for the people *anywhere*. It is admitted that the Constitution vests in Congress the care of the public lands, empowering that body both to protect them from foreign hands and to dispose of them for the *largest* popular benefit; but it is utterly denied that Congress can create *institutions* for the settlers, whether of one kind or another. That peculiar and highly important work they must do for themselves, and none others can do it for them. This single great fact cannot be gainsayed by any political party or faction in the country. For, the moment another body, like Congress, for example, assumes to establish the political condition of the inhabitants of an inchoate State, that moment the inhabitants of that same State become mere *subjects*; their domain is no more than an outlying dependency of an arrogant central government; they

exist only as they have political authority delegated to them,—by a body, too, that has no political authority to delegate,—instead of being *prima facie* sovereigns over Congress, and over every other created political body known under our Constitution.

And is *this*, we seriously ask, the limit and extent of our liberties? How comes it that Congress can organize institutions, or constitutions, for any of us? Whence was its power derived? Being only a *creation* itself, and not a *creator*, it must of course have been invested with so high an authority. But when? where? If by the people themselves, then it is plain that the *people* are the true sovereigns, after all; but if *not* by the people, then it follows that the authority was *assumed* in the first place. One or the other of these alternatives must be accepted.

If, then, as we must finally admit, Congress derives all the powers it may properly exercise from the hands of the people, and if the people, therefore, are alone sovereign, where is the inconsistency in the position that the people, rather than Congress, shall take the formation of their political institutions into their own hands? Or where is the hardship, except to interested politicians, in settling the present troubles in this sound, constitutional, and thoroughly democratic manner? Those who object, do it because it is too short and easy a method of securing peace, for their hopes of political favor and preferment; or because it terminates an exciting controversy, through the continuance of which they hoped, in good time, to work the overthrow of a great national fabric too mighty for them to control. It would be the best policy to adopt,—this new Territorial Policy,—if it were only for the sake of bringing each of these sets of reckless political gamblers to nought.

It is very certain that no American Congress can again pass such restrictions as the Missouri Compromise, whether in the interest of slave labor or free. The day for that sort of things has gone by. We may combine to elect such Congresses as we choose, either North or South; but when the question is brought before them, if indeed it ever shall be again,—whether they will interfere to prohibit one thing or to establish another,—it will be found that no body of representatives will venture to interpose their opinions and prejudices between the actual settlers and their preferences. No fact is plainer, or more emphatic, than this; and he who has not yet got his eyes open to observe it, must needs confess himself ignorant of the whole temper and tendency of public affairs in the country. No political party can hope to come into power, that fears to inscribe a doctrine like this upon its banner, in letters large and legible; for the people have set their stamp of approval upon the same, and they have not yet learned to forget that they are sovereign.

Let Congress protect and dispose of *the soil*, acting merely as trustee for the several States

whose property it is in common; and let it exercise, under the charter of the Constitution, all that authority which is necessary to the fullest protection and fairest disposal of the public domain, with a view solely to its early settlement by citizens from all the States alike;—but here let the work of Congress cease; it can go no farther; it cannot erect political communities, nor found institutions of any sort for such communities; it may deal temporarily with the external property, but it cannot say that the people who buy it and settle upon it shall, or shall not, form themselves into such political communities as they are allowed to form, under the broad provisions of the common Constitution. Here the final stand must be taken,—has been taken already. This shall constitute the dividing line, over which the people of the country insist that no Congresses ought, or shall dare, to go. If we respect this division, we may continue our national existence in amity and peace; otherwise, there must be broils and contentions till the “bitter end,” so long desired of fanatics on both sides, shall finally come.

The Republicans, as they take their present position, not only declare that slavery shall not go into the Territories at all, but that it shall be kept out in *only one way*; and that way, by Congressional legislation! Here it is they show themselves totally impracticable; unless they can remove an evil by a process patented by themselves, which is sure to entail many worse evils in its operation, they prefer not to remove it at all; it will serve them a better turn, they think, as a topic for inflammatory and mischievous harangues! Such a temper argues but little for the genuineness of their professed philanthropy, to charge no more. They betray the suspicious fact that they are more solicitous about the *mode* of preventing, or curing, an evil than they are about the one serious fact of preventing, or curing, it. Now if it has become apparent that slavery can never be established in, or kept out of a Territory by an Act of Congress, and that the very discussion of it puts the matter farther away from the possibility of adjustment than ever,—is it not the best proof of sincerity the Republicans can give, to be willing to adopt such a measure as *shall be* practical, and at the same time effective and permanent? To stand out for an impossibility, especially when the stubbornness is attended with so much actual danger to the whole Union, is no less an act of crime than it is of folly, and stamps those who are guilty of it as men not safe to be either followed or trusted.

The people of the Territories themselves will settle the matter; of that we have every needed assurance. And, what is better, they will so settle it that their posterity to the latest generations will be satisfied with their decision. That is something. But if slavery, or any other local institution, should be either established among them, or denied to them by

the authority of *Congress*, occasions would arise in the future without number, when it would be charged that no distant political body had any *right* to perform this business for them; and it would even be insisted that their decision was not binding. The Congressional mode is liable to this objection always, even if to none more immediately serious. It would ever be open, too, to the charge of corrupt legislation, since the men are few whose votes could not be influenced by some sort of pressure, either in one way or the other, without regard to the settlers at all.

Are the politicians and factionists, then, *afraid* to trust the people,—to let them alone with their own affairs? Is *this* the first fruits of our boasted system of government, that just when and where the people themselves can restore a peace so long unknown, their arrogant leaders concede that they are not willing to *trust* them? Have the people, then, so grossly degenerated? Are they less competent to-day to manage their own local concerns than they were in the time of Jefferson? Is it indeed true that the ancient virtues have gone out of them? Are they not quite as competent to decide whether slave labor is, or is not, good for them, as any Congress can be? And if they are not, then how is Congress to be more so?—the same body that receives all its authority from the people, and could not even claim an existence unless the people first spoke it into being?

This distrust of the popular virtue, and the popular capacity, presages the certain decay and death of the political party that indulges it. It ought to do so in a government like this. If faith diminishes in that direction, the sheet-anchor is gone. Thus far in our history, a lack of such faith has been fatal to those who sought to manage and direct public affairs without it; and we are assured that it will always work the same result in the future. And it is just as true on the other hand, that whenever an issue of the highest magnitude has been fairly presented to the people for their disposal, their clear instincts and intelligent judgment have found a ready solution for all perplexities and entanglements. The people being masters, it is proper that their servants, when unable to adjust difficulties of a most threatening nature, should deferentially refer them back to their wiser discretion and final disposal. For when the people in this country have once settled a question, it may be considered settled forever. They are above bribery or corruption, and they understand their own interests best.

We have just entered upon the **THIRD ERA** in the Political History of the country. Every nation has a tidal ebb and flow in its affairs, marked by certain events that remain indelibly written on the pages of its history. The First Era in our political life, after we had seriously entered upon the experiment of a Constitutional existence, was in the time of

JEFFERSON,—that pure and placid patriot and most thorough of all Democrats. Dissensions were frequent and radical in the cabinet of the First President, between the timid element that always looked backward over its shoulder to the English Constitution as the perfection of human wisdom, and the other element that put full faith in the capacity of the people for self-government. It was the spirit of the former that interposed a frame-work, called an Electoral College, between the people and their highest rulers, because it was afraid to trust them directly with so imposing a responsibility. The same element has run through all our history till the present time. Jefferson stood forth the representative of the other element. He firmly believed in man's ability to create his own institutions,—a doctrine that is rapidly making its way in Europe, while a party in our own country dispute and deny it as a similar party disputed and denied it before! It was the clear and powerful pen of Jefferson that did more than any voice or word, in those days, to drive out the pernicious monarchical element from our national councils, and establish the broad and enduring *democratic principle*, which has stood through evil report and good report unshaken to this day.

The **SECOND ERA** occurred under Jackson. He found the popular will largely interfered with, and sought to be entirely controlled, by the overshadowing Money Power, wielded by a party that opposed, because they could not use him; and such advancement had already been made to this end, through the legislative process, as to excite serious fears in the minds of those who reposed their hopes for freedom in the unbiassed expression of the popular will. Without pausing to count the cost, the old hero entered the lists at once, threw the whole weight of his character into the contest, and fought courageously for the people and popular rights until complete victory was secured. This was the long-to-be-remembered war with the gigantic Money Power,—a transplanted aristocracy—that openly bribed or defied our public men for its own ends, and essayed to undermine the plainest rights of the people through the forms of legislation.

The **THIRD ERA** is this day upon us. It is signalized by a consolidated attempt of extremists, factionists, and sectionalists everywhere—North and South alike—to force upon the people, for purely selfish purposes, a system of legislation that would take their inherent power out of their own hands, and, in short, make Congress superior to its creators. As in the two other eras, it is a deliberate and desperate effort to curtail the people of their own naturally derived power,—on one side, from motives of passion and fanaticism, leading to nothing practical, or permanent, or wise,—and, on the other, from motives mainly of selfishness, and a spirit that would either “rule or ruin.” But both sides are agreed on this point,—that they are in pursuit of *power*; and this they do not

seek from its legitimate source, the people, but by the aid of a legislative legerdemain which is sure to come to its end the very moment it seems most to promise success.

Each party is confronted by a tried and courageous statesman, whom Heaven has specially raised up and thoroughly disciplined for this *third vindication of Popular Rights*. That man is STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. From his earliest days he has been a champion of the people. To-day he is battling with his accustomed bravery for the rights of the masses, against legislative and executive usurpation on the one side, and against political demands made by the assumed representatives of slave property, on the other. He has faith in the people above both. He has thoroughly learned the lesson that the people are superior to all Congresses in forming their local institutions, and superior to all the laws that are sought to be forced upon them for the protection of any sort of property. His faith in popular rights and capabilities is as profound as was that of Thomas Jefferson, and his courage and persistency in the defence of those rights and that capability is as high as was ever that of Andrew Jackson. The crisis and the man have fitly come together, as, under Providence, they always do.

Thus, then, the great Political Triumvirate in our history is complete. JEFFERSON—JACKSON—DOUGLAS! all men of the people,—each a thorough Democrat in the true sense of that term,—all willing and resolved to stake their name and fame on behalf of popular rights and genuine popular sovereignty.

Jefferson was indeed beloved of the masses, and for reason. So was Jackson. So is Douglas. See how they rally to his name. The people, always meaning well where their own interests are at stake, are rarely guilty of error; their instincts are both quick and true, and they know how safe it is to follow them. The career of both Jefferson and Jackson marked the dawn of new eras for the country, when popular rights gained new victories over assumptions that had grown hoary with time, and secured a longer lease for the reign of popular liberty; the career of DOUGLAS betokens the approach of still better days for the people of this country, and his brave championship of popular rights marks the dawn of an era brighter and more full of promise than any to which we can point in the past.

It is solely because Stephen A. Douglas has so faithfully "fought the good fight" for popular rights, that the masses throughout the land respond to the very mention of his name with feverish enthusiasm; and now that a crisis has overtaken us, and a fierce and passionate struggle has begun, tearing old political organizations to tatters, and requiring a high wisdom and calm foresight to reconstruct the elements and array them in permanent order, they instinctively turn their eyes to him with a firm confidence in his courage, his experience, his sagacity, and his thorough democracy, to con-

duct them victoriously through the storm of doubts and dangers to final safety and peace. Nor is he the man to fail them in their need. Their instincts are as true as they always were. These guide them to the wise selection of their champion, and always aright. Mr. Douglas, chief of all the public men of our day, holds the attention and sympathies of the nation. People feel that he is their safest counsellor, because they know that he has never failed them in the past. His metal has been tried and proved. He combines the profound Jefferson faith with the high Jackson courage and will. Since the days when the existence of the nation began, no man in the public councils has presented a more marked and conspicuous history.

If evidence was still needed to prove the determination of the man to stand firmly by principle, we find more than sufficient in the fact that for this only he has been hounded down by the dependents and pensioners of a faithless Administration, on which both the people and politicians have set the seal of their condemnation long ago; it was for the single reason that he sternly refused to become a party with them to defraud and betray the people of a young Territory. In that desperate struggle with power securely entrenched in its own position, he was doubly strong in the thought that he was fighting the great battle for the people; just as ready, afterwards, to continue the war with corrupt politicians and fanatical sectionalists for the same rights and principles. It has been the insane resolution of this Administration, stung with remorse and overwhelmed with mortification at finding itself beaten at all points of the issue,—discarded by friends and detested by foes,—to *crush out* this brave man, whom it hesitated not to brand as a "rebel;" it charged him freely with want of party fealty and the desertion of political principle, while the record proves conclusively that he has been religiously true to both; it allied itself with an open political foe, to defeat him whom it accused so inconsistently with desertion of his party; and it has left no stone unturned, no effort untied, no paltry trick unappealed to, by which to compass the ignominy of this man who is guilty of no higher crime than that of defending the cause of popular rights everywhere. But thus far it has been a fatal experiment. The arrogant leaders told him that no member of the party, however distinguished, had ever defied an Administration in power, and continued his political existence; but he told them in return, that the People are greater than all parties and Administrations, and never deserted the man who made a bold and brave stand for them when their rights were put in peril.

This same Administration, having vainly endeavored to compass the defeat of Mr. Douglas, two years ago, by an alliance with Lincoln and his supporters in Illinois, have since attempted the task of defeating him with

the people, by an alliance with the secessionists and disunionists of the South! A fine concern, truly, to get up a cry of party faithlessness against a statesman like Judge Douglas, or to sound a howl of his destitution of political principle. Its own shameless practices betray the complete treachery both to party and to principle of which it has been guilty, and the wicked perjury with which it is justly chargeable. The reason was, not that Mr. Douglas was *false*, but that the Administration was *criminal*, and he had fearlessly convicted them of it before the country. They have only made good his words by their steadfast course of persecution and revenge. Thus we have an Administration willing to back, with all the influence and power committed to its trust, either section of fanatics, and to peril the very existence of the Union for the sake of wreaking a mean personal revenge! Surely, it is time all this was changed. Especially, when such whining and hypocritical professions of purity are put forth in its own crippled defence, as are embodied in the Duquesne Letter, or the Protest to the Committee of the House of Representatives, by the President.

The people everywhere are eager to do justice by men who have unselfishly labored and battled on their behalf; they never refuse to do it, when they once understand the true case. Already they see to what a course of deliberate and heartless persecution Mr. Douglas has been subjected, for no other reason than his uncompromising devotion to them, and they are determined to set the matter right. They are eager for the day to dawn when they may give in for him their verdict of approval and renewed confidence. It has already been the popular purpose, for a considerable time, to invest him with that official dignity and power he knows so well how to maintain on behalf of those who solemnly depute it. And that they will do without fail. Every circumstance now points directly that way. The popular preference is unmistakable. The position of the man is all in his favor. The times demand the coming forth of just such a character. And knowing all this, the masses feel armed with a ten-fold resoluteness and enthusiasm.

In the character of Mr. Douglas is to be found every reason for reposing public confidence. Its elements are so combined, each riveted with such a secret power to the other, and the whole made so compact and firm, that among our public men he holds a place as admirable as it is conspicuous. Such characters are not more rare than they are excellent. Their solidity gives them unusual weight, and their compactness gives them vast force. He has proved himself fearless in the storm of malignant threats that have rained upon his head, and self-possessed and true in the face of more suspicious flattery. It is every thing to say of him what is only true, that his foes, on either side, have been alternately his

open admirers. It is just because he refused to swerve from his high trusts, which have been reposed in him by the people, that both sides are in open hostility against him now. In this respect, no position could be more honorable than his.

There is no mistake about the important fact, that Mr. Douglas is the man for the times. The times are uncommon, and so is he. The HOUR AND THE MAN have come together by providential arrangement. If he hesitates not to brave the sullen threats of an Administration in power, and the angrier threats of its followers and those who would use it as an engine for their own destructive ends, because of his devotion to popular rights,—neither will he quail before any other earthly authority or influence, when he sees the same sovereign rights invaded or impaired. No public man of our time has a more thorough experience in matters pertaining to legislation, nor is there one who is likely to surpass him in executive ability. Courage he lacks not, and his will, when fixed on what is right, is as inflexible as iron and enduring as adamant.

In the immediate future,—say within the next ten years,—the fortunes of these United States are to experience a wonderful advancement. We have but to mention a Pacific Railway across the Continent,—steam to China and Japan,—the opening of commercial relations with four hundred millions of human beings on the other side of the globe,—liberty dawning upon long enslaved Europe,—and the uncounted improvements and inventions that are the sole fruits of fraternal peace and concord,—and the mind takes in the outlines of the more than imperial sketch at a grasp. The thirty-three States must soon count forty,—and then fifty. Our commerce will become colossal; our productions, both for quantity and variety, enormous. All over the round globe our flag will carry the authority of our name and the force of our example, and that flag will still be the flag of the Union.

Who so well fitted, so thoroughly disciplined, so courageous, so experienced, so bold, so patriotic, as STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, to stand at the helm while the good ship of State triumphantly sails forth from these perilous straits into those new and broader seas? Who will keep the old flag nailed more fast to the mast than he? Or, at home, under whose lead can these internal dissensions be sooner healed? If this exciting question is settled now, and in the only way possible, it remains settled forever, for the people take no steps backward; but if the result of this contest is only to keep the dangerous discussion open still,—as it will, if either section predominates,—patriots everywhere may well despair of the longer continuance of the Union. The safe way lies, as it ever did, between the two extremes. Let us unitedly resolve to go in none other. We understand the perils of the HOUR,—let us fix our eyes on the qualities of the MAN who can deliver us!

Forney, John W.
(5)

©
EULOGY

UPON THE

HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

DELIVERED AT THE

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE,

WASHINGTON, JULY 3, 1861,

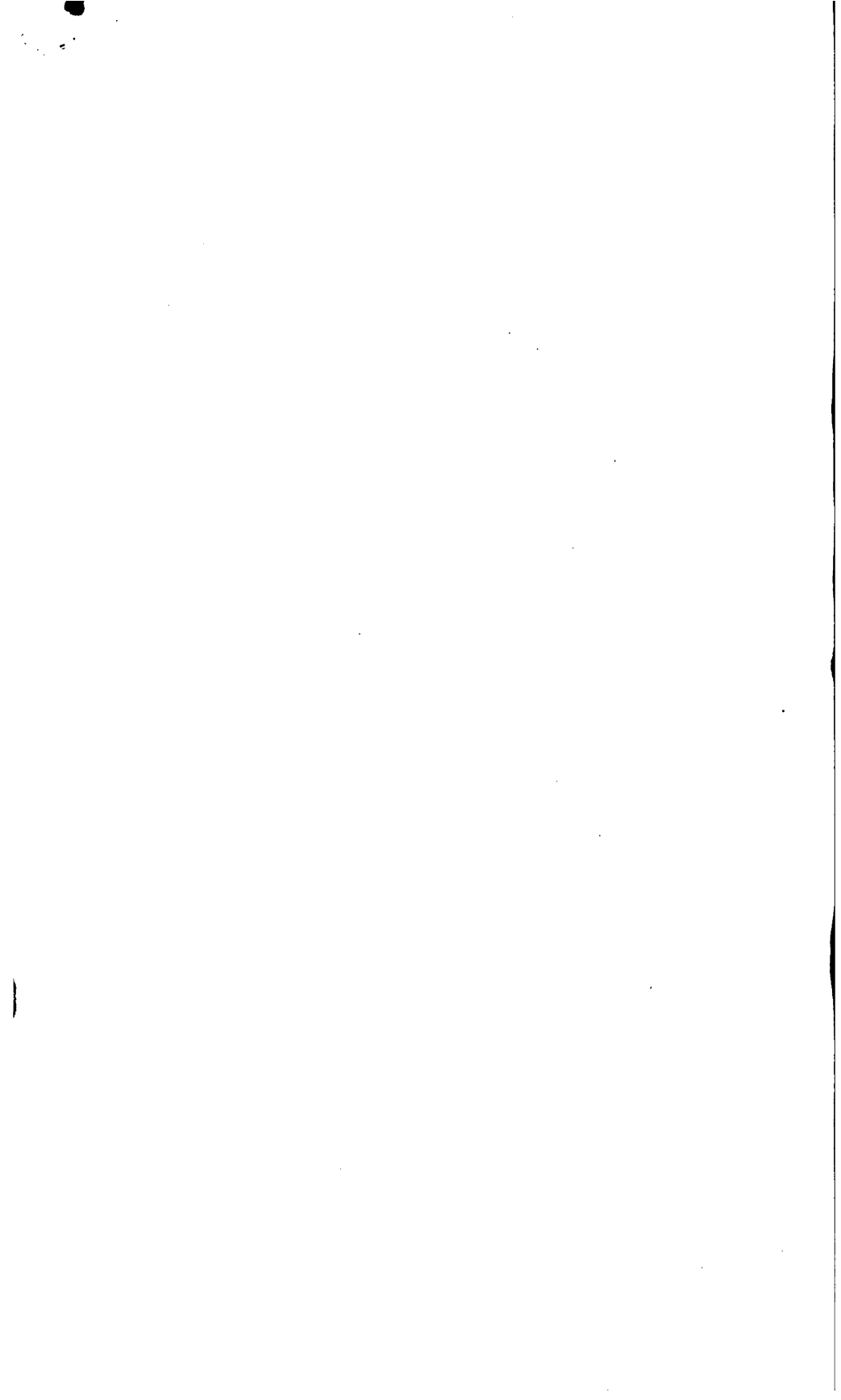
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BY JOHN W. FORNEY.

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PHILADELPHIA:

RINGWALT & BROWN, PRINTERS, 34 SOUTH THIRD STREET.

1861.



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1804, Nov. 27.

Gift of

Rev. Chas. Sumner.

(... 1830.)

IMMEDIATELY after intelligence of the death of Senator Douglas was received in Washington, a meeting of his friends and admirers was held there, to determine upon the best mode of honoring his memory. A Committee then formed—of which the Hon. John B. Haskin was Chairman, and John J. McElhone, Esq., Secretary—decided upon inviting Col. Forney to deliver an Oration or Eulogy upon the great departed, and the Lecture Hall of the Smithsonian Institute was kindly granted as the most suitable auditorium.

At eight o'clock, upon the evening of Wednesday, July 3d, the Hall was crowded—the audience including representatives of numerous classes of politics, with a number of ladies. When Prof. Henry, of the Institute, appeared, accompanied by Gen. Cameron, Col. Forney, and numerous other gentlemen, who took seats upon the platform, he was warmly greeted.

Prof. Henry, in introducing the speaker, in a few compact and expressive sentences, said that the place in which they were assembled was exactly suited for the delivery of an estimate of Mr. Douglas, because that lamented and distinguished statesman had been connected with the Institute in an official manner, and had also personally taken great interest in its welfare. He was sure that full justice would be done to the character of Mr. Douglas by Col. Forney, whom he now begged leave to introduce to the audience.

EULOGY.

MR. PRESIDENT HENRY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

On the eve of the Anniversary of American Union and Independence, we have assembled in this classic hall to pay a heartfelt tribute to the memory of a Statesman, who, in his day and time, has conferred lasting benefits upon his country, and who, in the hour of her extremest peril, and in the prime of his life, has been called to his final account. Mingled with the grief which this sad event has inspired—a grief that has obliterated party prejudices among the people of all the loyal States of this Union—is the sad recollection that to-morrow's celebration of our national Sabbath will find us in the midst of an internal strife, which threatens the overthrow of our domestic peace, and the destruction of the liberties purchased by the blood of our forefathers, and consecrated in the deathless charter proclaimed from Independence Hall on the Fourth Day of July, 1776. [Applause.]

We have, therefore, a double cause to mourn—first, in the loss of an unchallenged and unquestioned Patriot, and next, in the fact that, in one section of our happy country, thousands of misguided men are found insensible to all the obligations of the glorious Past, and resolved to entitle themselves to the scorn and detestation of mankind. Yet may we not congratulate ourselves that, if there are those reckless enough to forget the day,

and the men who made that day immortal, more than twenty millions of people will greet the rising of to-morrow's sun—will hail the eighty-fifth anniversary of American Independence—with a fervor all the more deep, all the more religious, all the more profound and universal, because the Republic is in imminent danger, and the efforts and prayers of all good men are demanded for its preservation? [Applause.]

When the impartial historian comes to analyze the character and services of Stephen A. Douglas, he will be amazed at the wonderful versatility of the man, the vast amount of labor he performed, the events in which he moved a principal actor, and the comparatively short period of time during which he figured upon the stage of American politics. Volumes would be required to do justice to the subject. How, then, can *I* expect, within the decent and proper limits of such an occasion as this, to rise to an ordinary comprehension of the duty which has been assigned to me? I must content myself with a mere allusion to certain of the leading elements of the character of the departed patriot, and with a genial; though partial, view of many of his distinguishing traits and achievements, such as might be anticipated from one who loved him as a friend and believed in the general justice of his opinions.

Our greatest national historian, in his marvellous eulogy upon Andrew Jackson, in this very city, sixteen years ago, when he approached that part of the history of the old hero which continued to divide public opinion, said: "We tread on ashes where the fire is not yet extinguished." Many of the acts of Stephen A. Douglas were the acts of yesterday. We can almost hear the echo of the shouts of the hosts in the great conflicts upon one side, of which he was the leader. The theories he advocated still awaken animosities among men; his own passions, and those he aroused, are yet keenly remembered. For all this, I do not

feel I approach a forbidden, though a somewhat delicate, theme, when I allude, in passing, to some of his traits as a politician. I am rather invited to this, when I remember that within the last month the citizen, now President of the United States, who was defeated by Douglas for the Senate, in 1858, and who mounted in 1860, to the Presidential chair over the prostrate banner of his former successful competitor, directed that the armies of the Republic should crape their colors in mourning for the loss of his former adversary, and that the Departments of the Government should be closed on the day of his funeral at Chicago. [Great applause.] I am further attracted to the discussion of Douglas as a political leader by the fact that, at the portals of his tomb, the whole people of his own State, irrespective of former differences, paid the sublimest tribute to his memory—that, when he died, his worst opponents elsewhere forgot their animosities, and that the whole body of the loyal States were struck with sudden grief when his death was proclaimed—struck, indeed, as if they had lost their best, and dearest, and most cherished champion. [Applause.]

What a scene is this! When partisans forgot their hostility to Clay, and Jackson, and Webster, they did so over the graves of old men; but here they bury the recent and the bitter Past, from out of sight, in paying voluntary honor to the youngest, and, for a time, the extremest statesman of his school. Let me, therefore, with this free charter to speak my own mind, say something of Douglas as a leader and a Democrat.

He was a very thorough partisan. He belonged to the class who regarded the Democratic party as incapable of error, and created to rule in the administration of the Federal Government. He was so wedded to this idea as to look upon this organization as almost infallible, and sincerely believed that it was an aggregate of wisdom and experience superior to any political organization

of early or later times. Extending over the whole of the continent, and holding its devotees with almost Masonic attachment, it generally prevailed against all odds, and finally became so strong as to absorb most other organizations. As an oracle of this party, Judge Douglas was frequently severe upon his opponents, and, by his severity, provoked a retaliatory spirit that often bordered upon personal hatred. Yet, I think his faith in what is known as the organization of the Democratic party failed him before his death. When he saw the Southern leaders powerful enough, with the aid of this organization, to drive Mr. Buchanan from the path of duty into the path of depravity; to make measures like Lecompton a party test, and finally to bring to a candidate for the Presidency, whose object was unquestionably the disruption of the Government, hundreds of thousands of Democratic votes, he must have felt that the prestige of the Democracy had gone, never to be restored until its leaders can resurrect the great examples, and reanimate the great truths which they have latterly insanely neglected. [Applause.] If he were now alive, and could see the name of this powerful party flagrantly used as a cloak for treason, even in portions of the Free States, he would, in my opinion, feel that it was time to set aside a machine which has become so potent an engine of individual and general disaster.

He was preëminently and always a national man. This was one reason of his consistent championship of the Southern people. He shrank instinctively from what he called sectionalism. He was, undoubtedly, ambitious, and he had an undoubted right to be ambitious. He believed that the election of any President by a solid Northern or a solid Southern vote would be the parent of serious internal strife. Born in cold New England, he cultivated from early life the warmest relations with the Slave States, and at one time was their chiefest favorite. The Southern pol-

iticians loved him for many things—for his course in the Mexican War, and in the annexation of Texas; for his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso; for his speeches on the Compromise measures, and his subsequent gallant bearing when assailed by the turbulent populace of Chicago; for his aid in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and for his repeated vindications of that measure before the people. No Northern public man, since the commencement of the anti-slavery agitation, has been so steadily and efficiently the friend of the South. It was only when sternly adhering to his reading of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he refused to stultify himself by accepting the monstrous construction of that measure given to it by ultra Southern men, that he began to lose their confidence. From that hour all his sacrifices and services in their behalf were studiously forgotten. Their compliments were exchanged for curses, their praises for proscriptions; and it is a melancholy comment upon the boasted intelligence of the Southern people, that so many thousands permitted themselves to desert the great leader, only because that leader would not himself desert the truth and degrade his manhood. [Great applause.] Much has been said by heated partisans in regard to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It is alleged, on the one hand, that we should have had no Republican party, and on the other, that if he had adhered to that Compromise the Union itself would have stood the shock of battle and of time. But, however men may differ, when they come to discuss this portion of the record of our departed friend, all must agree that the agitation which followed the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill led to the exposure of the plans of the Disunionists, and enabled the American people to realize that these plans had been many years in course of preparation. If Judge Douglas, following the lead of these men, had accepted their construction of that measure, then the condemnation heaped upon him would

have been just; but when, with heroic fortitude and persistence, he maintained the principle he avowed when discussing the measure itself before it became a law, and, rather than yield it, endured the unparalleled persecution of the Administration of Mr. Buchanan; and when he demanded its recognition and reëndorsement by the National Convention of which he was the nominee in 1860, he gave the highest evidence of his patriotism and his sincerity. In the last Congress of the United States an unconscious tribute was paid to his character by the enactment of three territorial bills in which the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery in the Territories—the vital spirit of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—was recognized by the decided vote of both Houses.

And how did he bear himself when his former familiars and friends in the South turned from him, first with displeasure, and afterwards with indignation and scorn? Did he respond to their criminations? Did he retaliate their misrepresentations? No. Put forward as the regular Democratic candidate for President in 1860, he took the field to save them from the fate which has since overtaken them. Denounced by his assailants as afraid to advocate his opinions in the Slave States, he boldly threw himself among the Southern people, and challenged universal admiration by the dignity, the candor, and the eloquence of his arguments. His replies to the celebrated Norfolk questions were the index of his whole canvass in that never-to-be-forgotten year. Applauded by the Republicans and the Northern Democrats as an extraordinary exhibition of moral courage, and execrated by the Disunionists as a deliberate defiance of their threats, he never abandoned the high position thus assumed, but maintained his onward march. Beginning at Norfolk in August, and pursuing his way through North Carolina, returning to Virginia, thence to Maryland, and so through Pennsylvania, at

every point greeted by thousands, and approached by servile politicians who attempted to turn him from his text and to seduce him from his duty; yet he invariably spoke the same language and advocated the same doctrine. It was not for the South alone, but for the country, that he pleaded. [Applause.] As an evidence of his singular unselfishness, I am authorized to relate an incident by one who accompanied him through all these trying scenes. He never had full confidence in the probability of his election to the Presidency, but he was buoyed up by the faith that was in him, strengthened by the consciousness that if he did not live to enjoy the fruits of his labors, others would do so; and he seemed to be happy in the reflection that he was laboring not for himself, but for the peace, the prosperity, the perpetuity of the Republic. On the morning after the State elections in Pennsylvania and Indiana, in October of this same year, 1860, while at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, he received a despatch from the Associated Press, based upon an editorial of my own, announcing that both these States had declared in favor of the Republican party. His friend advised him to pause in his journey, suggesting the long route before them, the labor, and, indeed, the peril of the experiment, and reminding him that his health might fail him before he reached the close of his canvass. His reply is worthy of preservation. "No," he said, "Lincoln is the next President of the United States. I have no hope and no destiny before me, but to do my best to save the Union from overthrow. Now, let us turn our course to the South." [Applause.] And to the South they went. The history of that tour is yet to be written. Every step of his progress was watched with solicitude and surprise by the Northern people of all parties. Although invited by such men as Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, and John Forsyth, of Alabama, then professing to be his warmest friends, admonitions were thrown

out that he would not be permitted to speak in the Slave States, and more than one of the Southern journals invoked the spirit of the mob to put him down. But he was not to be deterred or delayed. He was not to be put down by human power. Leaving Chicago, he passed successively through the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, traveling and speaking night and day, and returned through Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia. Wherever he appeared thousands greeted him, and although invectives were plenty and threats hurled at him from the crowds, armed men watching each other, ready to break into open violence for and against him, he maintained the even tenor of his way. He reached the city of Mobile the evening before the Presidential election, and addressed an immense meeting of the people, carrying the district, as the result announced the night after showed, by the force of his logic and the courage of his character. In all this tour, not content with appealing to the masses from the hustings, he invoked his friends in private life to stand fast by the flag, appealed to the editors friendly to him to keep up the good fight, and never rested, not even after the election of Mr. Lincoln was ascertained, when he addressed the people of New Orleans, until he was prostrated by disease. [Applause.] It is related that after his speech at New Orleans a splendid silk banner was unfurled, bearing an accurate likeness of Douglas, inscribed with the words "Our choice in 1864." I forbear referring in detail to those who assisted in the welcome of this illustrious patriot during his memorable mission to the Slave States, and who have since fallen from his standard, and are now engaged in the parricidal attempt of destroying that Union in whose behalf he labored so heroically. I have never doubted, that during this campaign the seeds of the fatal disease that finally carried him off were planted in his constitution. He had passed through

almost inconceivable dangers, accidents by flood and field, and on one occasion came near losing his life by what was supposed to be the act of an enemy who attempted to throw the train which carried him and his family from the track. He survived them all to return to Washington. Is it any wonder that in his celebrated passage with the Disunion candidate for the Presidency, during the special session of April, in this year, that with all this experience in his own recollection and the recollection of the country, he should say that there was no cause for this rebellion against the Government; that all the demands of the South had been practically conceded in recent legislation, and that the Republicans had yielded all that the Southern extremists had insisted upon? [Applause.] And you will observe that no one was more earnest for peace than Mr. Douglas at this period. An ordinary man would have felt the insults and the ingratitude of the Southern politicians, but Douglas, when President Lincoln's inaugural was announced, gave it such a construction as proved his own earnest desire to prevent a collision. Here again he displayed his singular sagacity and boldness; for while the Republican leaders were uncertain how to treat the first Message of the President, he put himself forward, and with an ingenuity and an audacity, too, that attracted general observation, insisted that Mr. Lincoln's policy was that of an amicable adjustment of our national differences. [Applause.] The secret is to be found in his earnest desire to save the people of the South from their leaders—in other words, to keep the Union together, and, as it were, to appeal to the men specially interested in the prosperity of the new Administration, to adopt the same course. It was only when Sumpter fell; it was only when he perceived that all the amicable proffers of the Administration had been coldly rejected by the conspirators against our country's honor; it was only when these conspirators

refused to allow the starving garrison at Sumpter to be provisioned that he threw off the mantle of the pacificator and appealed to the God of battles to decide the great question whether we were to have a government or not. [Applause.] Now, if his voice had been for war before, his appeal to his friends throughout the loyal States in that dread hour must have been ineffectual. If he had faltered before the threats of the Southern Disunionists after his nomination for the Presidency in 1860—if he had refused to answer the Norfolk questions as he did answer them—if he had broken up his intended journey into the Southern States when the October elections in Indiana and Pennsylvania made the election of Mr. Lincoln a certainty—if he had not grappled with Breckinridge in the special session of the Senate and pulverized him [great applause] with the massive force of truth and intellect—of what avail would his invocation have been when Sumpter fell? He would have been regarded as a mere instrument of Faction. But when he spoke for war and for the Government, millions rose at his call, and the Administration felt that the country had rallied an element to the standard of the Union which could never be defeated.

The most unjust of all the imputations upon the memory of Douglas, however, is that of recent coinage and circulation.—It comes appropriately from those who followed him with obloquy to the grave—from the advocates first of a policy which produced a bitter alienation between the North and the South, and now of secession and separation. Rejecting the last, and probably the greatest speech of his life—short, it is true, but a mine of gold in thought and precious example—they now put him forward as the opponent of the righteous cause of his country, and quote him as the defamer of the Government, and by consequence, as the apologist of the men banded for its

destruction. There is a refined injustice in this aspersion of his fame—a cruelty in this calumny that would dishonor any cause but that which is in itself unrelieved dishonor. Not content with having repaid his long years of service to the Southern people—service in which he displayed the noblest attributes of man—services in rendering which, indeed, he sacrificed his life—with ingratitude as base as that which might be supposed to inflame a recreant son to slay his sleeping father in cold blood, they now attempt to tarnish his memory with the incredible falsehood that he was opposed to the mighty movement which has stirred the ocean of public opinion in the loyal States. [Sensation.] I need only give a single sentence from his last address to the people of Chicago in last May, to establish alike the malevolence of his enemies and the courageous consistency of his patriotism :

“The election of Mr. Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present Secession movement is the result of a tremendous, enormous conspiracy formed more than a year ago. [Cheers.] This conspiracy to break up the Union, was formed by the leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago. They use the slavery question as a means to accomplish their desired end. They desired a Northern man to be elected President by a sectional vote, in order to consider that as evidence that the two sections could not live in peace, and so they might break up the Union. [Applause.] Whenever the history of the last two years shall be written, whenever the history of this country, from the time that the Lecompton Constitution was originated down to the last Presidential election, shall be written, it will appear that the scheme was formed to break up this Union. They desired to break it up, using the slavery question as a pretext. They desired the election of the Republican candidate by a purely Northern vote, against a united

South, and now assign that fact as a reason why we could not live together. The scheme as agreed upon in Washington last May was for the Disunion candidate to carry every Southern State, and Mr. Lincoln every Northern State, and the Disunionists then were to seize possession of the Federal Government, and issue orders to the army and navy under the seal of the United States. They expected to have possession of the Government, and they relied upon a divided North and a united South to bring civil war to our own doors. The scheme was only defeated by the defeat of the Disunion candidate in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Virginia. [Applause.] Whenever the history of this country shall be written, it will record that grand conspiracy, and the present Disunion movement as the result of it.

“But this is not the time to go into a discussion of the causes that have produced these results. The conspiracy to break up the Union is a fact now known to all. Armies are being raised and war levied to accomplish it. There can be but two sides to this controversy. [Applause.] EVERY MAN MUST BE ON THE SIDE OF THE UNITED STATES OR AGAINST IT. [Immense applause, cheers, and cries of ‘Good!’ ‘good!’ etc.] There can be no neutrals in this war. [Prolonged cheers.]

“There can be none but patriots and traitors. [Applause.] Thank God! Illinois will not be divided on that question. [Cheers.] I know that they have expected to present a united South against a divided North. The conspirators have been led to hope that, in the Northern States, it would be made a party question, producing civil war between Democrats and Republicans, and the South being united, could step in with their legions, and help the one to destroy the other, and then conquer the victor. [Laughter and applause.] Their scheme was bloodshed and all the horrors of civil war in every Nor-

thern State ! There is but one way to prevent it: united action on the part of Illinois, closing up the ranks, and thus rendering it impossible that war shall rage on our soil. [Applause.]

“I repeat that, so long as it was possible to settle this question by peaceful means, I was willing to make any reasonable sacrifice for that purpose ; but when the question comes whether the war shall be transferred from the cotton fields of the South to the corn-fields of Illinois, I choose to say that the further off that war the better. [Applause.]

“War does exist. It is a sad thought to every patriot.—War—civil war—must be recognized as existing in the United States. We may no longer close our eyes to that solemn fact. This government must be maintained, the enemies of the country overthrown, and the more stupendous and overwhelming our preparations, the less bloodshed and the shorter the struggle.”

Here, in the capital, which was the scene of some of his proudest triumphs, let us resolve to wear these immortal words in our heart of hearts, and to transmit them to endless generations. [Applause.] I now speak to the people of the Free States, who are again approached by the enemies of Douglas, and once more called upon to strike at the safety of the Republic. Be no longer deceived by wicked and ambitious men. Remember that every appeal to party against the Government is an argument intended to demoralize the energies of the present Executive and his ministers ; is but a crafty preparation for a still more fearful evil than disunion itself—even to the death of all personal liberty, and to the perpetuity of a civil feud before which the wars of other days and other nations will seem but the pastimes of a village fair.

His magnanimity was a leading characteristic. He was less permanently controlled by party feelings or personal prejudices than any man I ever knew. He was impulsive, and frequently

dealt in harsh invective, but so generous a soul could not nurse his wrath to keep it warm. If he said a bitter thing, he soon regretted and frankly admitted it. If he struck a hard blow, the same clenched hand that gave it was promptly opened to reconciliation. This trait was, probably, the secret of his popularity in society and in the Senate. In fact, his manner could not be resisted. He disarmed prejudice by a double charm—by his ability and his magnanimity. [Applause.] After the most acrimonious debate, it was no uncommon thing for him to jest with the men he had been recently denouncing. If he offended like a man, he forgave like a God. I shall never forget his appearance when the electoral vote was read, in the House of Representatives, in February last. That was a memorable scene. According to law, Vice President Breckinridge presided. Only three Southern States had deserted the flag and faith of their fathers. The galleries were crowded, and some interest was excited by the rumor that violence was intended to prevent the formal proclamation of the constitutional verdict of the American people. I looked round me to see whether certain men, who continued to retain seats in that great Convention, Senators and Representatives, with all their boasted chivalry, and honor, and courage, could lend themselves to the studied denunciation of an election of the ruler of thirty millions of people—could participate in all the solemn ceremonials belonging to it—could hear the vote of every State read off and recorded, even while their souls were black with sin, and their hearts filled with the pre-ordained purpose of disregarding that election, and of making it the pretext of a war intended to convert this capital into a Gahenna, a Phlegethon, a very hell on earth. [Applause.] The Vice President, calm, cold, and complacent,—for so young a man, very calm, cold, and complacent,—announced every State before the vote was read, and seemed

to be the impersonation of Senatorial rectitude and dignity. Before him were the Senators and Representatives from Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, States that have since been stolen out of the Union by the treachery of their executives, not to speak of the Senators from other States who lived under a system of successful terrorism, all aiding in the ceremony, and yet nearly all pledged to put the dagger to the heart of their country. The reading had not progressed far, before Judge Douglas walked down the main aisle. Every eye was turned upon him. Taking his seat between Senators Seward and Lane, the one now the honored head of the State Department under President Lincoln, the other a dishonored echo of the Secession conspiracy, he proceeded to enter into a pleasant side-conversation with both, no doubt in reference to the fact that while Mr. Seward had been defeated for the Presidential nomination of his own party, and Mr. Lane had aided to break up the Democracy, he, Judge Douglas, felt as proud of his few electoral votes, and of the million of Democrats at his back, as even the successful competitor, then shortly to be inaugurated into the Presidency for four years. [Applause.] No confusion in him on that great day, for he indulged in no guilty reservations. He was ready to die for his country. If in the near future there was a dagger and a bowl for that country, his hand was not ready to drive the one or to drug the other. He had, therefore, no cause for self-reproach. He yielded to the decree of the ballot box with a grace and promptitude all his own.—Around him were gathered the dark conspirators that he knew were plotting his country's ruin, and, like so many Catalines, affecting a show of deference to a Constitution they were sworn to assail and to trample under foot. [Sensation.]

I have spoken of his rare magnanimity. A dozen instances of this could be produced—a single one will suffice: His name

was presented for the Presidency to the Cincinnati Convention in 1856. His friends were among the bold and daring men of the party, skillful veterans, and ardent young politicians from every section. They loved him so warmly that they scarcely dreamed of yielding him to another. Conscious of his great deservings and abilities, they resolved to embarrass the nomination of his leading competitor. For days they contended for him, and with so much tact and force as to protract the balloting to the close of the week.

Douglas was in Washington watching the progress of the Convention, and when he saw that bad feeling was being created in the debate and the voting, he telegraphed to his friend Col. Richardson, a member of the Congress that assembles here tomorrow, three despatches, demanding of his supporters to yield to Mr. Buchanan's nomination as soon as he received "a majority of the Convention," and asserting his gratification at the unanimous adoption of the platform, in which the popular principle of committing the slavery question forever to the people of the Territories was endorsed, had accomplished all the objects he had in view in allowing his friends the use of his name. He followed this act of self-abnegation by a canvass in support of his successful rival, marvellous for the eloquence he displayed, and for the vast sums of money expended out of his private fortune, to secure him the vote of Illinois. [Applause.] The impartial and inexorable historian will record how this magnanimity was reciprocated. The fidelity of 1856 was rewarded by the proscriptions of '57 and '58. The President nominated by the friends of Douglas at Cincinnati, after he had received the majority of the Democratic Convention, refused to accept or recognize or support the nomination of Douglas when he had received a fair majority at Charleston, and the platform upon which Mr. Buchanan was elected, and without which he could

not have been elected, which made Douglas so potential a champion of his cause, was rejected and broken under circumstances of unblushing and unparalleled perfidy. [Applause.]

The experience of a public man, especially one engaged in American politics, is nearly always a thankless and painful experience. There have been many instances of the truth of this assertion. From early days, with the exceptional cases of Jefferson, Washington, and Jackson, few of our great leaders have been properly appreciated by the people they have served. Much as we prate of corruption of politicians, and of their ambition, it is a fact, a thousand times vindicated, that the most faithful of our representative men, after having given their best years to their country, have died poor. Absorbed in general duties, they can afford to give little time to their own interests. It is well known that General Jackson retired from Washington in debt—that Mr. Webster left no legacy to his children but the record of his immortal eloquence—that Mr. Clay was not a rich man in any sense—that the simple manners and frugal tastes of Mr. Calhoun alone prevented him from being annoyed by pecuniary troubles. Harrison, Taylor, Fillmore, and Pierce, were men in but moderate circumstances; and in looking along the catalogue of names that now adorn our history, I cannot lay my hand upon one who has rightly served his country in the councils of the nation that has given consistent attention to his own business affairs. [Sensation.] Indeed, wherever an American statesman has fallen short in the discharge of his obligations to the country and the Constitution, has yielded to faction or expediency, has been tainted with corruption, it will be found that his mercenary, and grasping, and dishonest spirit has been directed to the accumulation of a fortune for himself. Who that knew the departed patriot, whose death the whole liberal world deplores—who that knew Stephen A. Douglas will refuse to say

that at no period of his life could such a charge be laid at his door? It is true that but for the great commercial tempest of 1857, Judge Douglas would have died immensely rich; but it ought to be remembered that his possessions were the result rather of happy and sudden purchases, than of any studied purpose of promoting his own welfare. He was not a speculator. Liberal to a fault, ready to serve his friends at whatever risk, prominent in every public charity, he never gave a vote in Congress that could be tortured by his most ingenious enemy into a selfish vote. [Great applause.] One of the boldest advocates of every great improvement, the earnest supporter of measures assailed in certain quarters as extravagant, but which looked to the promotion of the general comfort, and to the increase of the stock of human knowledge—as, for instance, the donations of public land to the several States and Territories for railroad purposes, the establishment of great lines of steam intercommunication, and the encouragement of overland mail routes to bind the two great seaboard together—it is eminently creditable that, although bitterly assailed for his opinions, no opponent could make and maintain an accusation affecting his personal integrity. Other men in our past public councils—some in the Cabinet and some in Congress—have been accused of corruption, and the accusation has been believed, and sometimes proved; but it will be one of the brightest pages in the records of Douglas that, in supporting what he conceived to be the cause of his country, he forgot himself; and, although surrounded with temptations, and enabled to take advantage of many alluring opportunities to make himself a wealthy man, he left the stage of life with no other patrimony than his illustrious fame. [Great applause.]

He was neither a copyist nor an imitator. He never waited until others had spoken on a great question. Nothing seemed intricate or abstruse to him. The most embarrassing issues had

no terrors in his eyes. Thus he defended General Jackson's case in resisting the civil process for the purpose of saving a great city—an example that may be commended to the casuists of our own day in a neighboring State, who think the law can be made a cover for treason, and the Judiciary the right arm of rebellion. Thus he confronted John Quincy Adams on the disputed boundary of Texas, by quoting a forgotten dispatch written ten years before, while that extraordinary man was Secretary of State. In the annexation of Texas he aided to unravel a tangled skein of diplomancy and double-dealing. By his speeches in the House during the pendency of the Compromise Measures, he almost divided the honors equally with Clay, Webster, and Cass. When the Utah complication came to disturb politicians, he suggested a remedy equally clear and sensible. I need not refer to his amazing discussions of our relations to other Governments, and particularly to the future designs of Great Britain, nor to his memorable arguments in the exciting debates of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, when all men bowed to his superior intellect. He was as original as he was daring, in the forum and upon the hustings, never allowing his opponent to recover time from one surprise, before turning his flank with another and taking his batteries. Indeed, the whole life of Judge Douglas was a succession of triumphs won by his prompt and original policy. [Applause.] He returned to Illinois when he made his canvass for reëlection to the Senate in 1858, with the Administration—an Administration almost of his own creation—in the field against him, and with the compact and disciplined ranks of the Republicans fiercely opposed to him. In that canvass, thus doubly opposed, with the ablest man in the Republican party against him, and with the Presidential issue immediately before him, and still clinging to the organization of the Democratic party, he won his reëlection by his defiance of the

Administration of Mr. Buchanan and by the repeated expressions of his determination that the rights of the Southern people should be sustained. [Great sensation.]

He was the most suggestive man I ever knew. A subject difficult to others he made plain and clear. To an editor he was an exhaustless mine of original thought, and many an article for which I received credit was but a tame elaboration of an idea he had presented to me. He did not save and hide his impressions. Profuse as he was of his money he was even more profuse of his brains. He seemed to think when he gave so generously of the one, that it was enduring as the other.—Some statesmen hoard up their ideas as a miser hoards his gold, making them common only when they know the return must add to their own fame. Not so with him. He loved to enrich others with the gems and jewels of his own mental storehouse; and nothing delighted him more than to see them praised for that which he had produced.

He was self-reliant. Few men have relied so little upon others. In debate, he was a match for the greatest, and as against a number he was like a lion at bay. [Applause.] When his adversaries surrounded him, and their blows were rained fast and thick upon him, he never retreated, but planting himself upon his principles, challenged universal admiration by the rapidity of his movements, the fertility of his invention, the readiness of his replies, and the preëminent courtesy of his language and his bearing. Many instances of this occur to my mind—one during the historical debate on the night previous to the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill in the Senate, when, for three hours, he maintained his position against a host of opponents. Mr. Seward, with his characteristic frankness, could not resist the expression of his feelings during that debate, when he assured the Senator from Illinois that he had

never admired him more than during that contest. "Sir," said Mr. Douglas, "I know how to command the respect and the praise of the Senator from New York."

He rarely or never quoted poetry. He had little taste for the music of the schools, but he was singularly alive to poetry when read by others, and had his own favorite airs which he loved to listen to and linger over. I have heard him narrate incidents of his own life and of the lives of others which abounded in the most exquisite and pathetic touches. His journey through Russia; his reception by the old Emperor previous to his death; his conversation with the Empress Eugénie; his presence at one of the Greek Islands when he received the news of the arrest of Koszta by Captain Ingraham; the effect produced upon his imagination by London and Paris, were described with a grace and a spirit that alternately recalled the delightful diction of Irving, and the stately style of Macaulay. [Applause.] This may be called extravagant praise by those only who have read the direct and unadorned logic of his Congressional efforts; but it will be endorsed by all who have sat at his side when, in some genial hour, he threw off those original impressions from his mind—leaves as it were, from that great machine which, though constantly at work, seemed never to tire.

His humor was intuitive. Never indulging in vulgar wit, he was so prompt in repartee, so apt in discovering the weak points of his adversary, and, withal, so generally careful to avoid offence, that in the hottest controversy he turned the laugh upon his opponent, and compelled him to yield to the general contagion.

This man, who thought so profoundly and was ever ready in a crisis, was a man of the greatest leisure. He was frequently in society. He delighted to mingle with the gay and

the gifted, and was the soul of every social circle. Those who saw him at a reception or a levee were surprised to find him in the Senate next morning, as ready for business as if he had given the whole of the previous night to reading and reflection.

Nobody ever knew when he did read, and yet he referred to volume, page, and date, with a quick correctness that surprised all. He would loiter in the Senate, converse with the ladies in the galleries, talk with the politicians, smoke his cigar with his friends, and all this time apparently indifferent to the discussion going on in the body itself, and when least expected would plunge into the billows of the debate, dashing every obstacle aside, and generally coming out the victor. [Great applause.] He was great in the parliamentary skirmish, but he was greater in the protracted battle. His small arms were effective, but his Dahlgrens were terrible. [Applause.] He would laugh through or fight through a contest, precisely as circumstances required. His short speeches reminded us of John Forsyth, in his best days; but when he planted himself for an elaborate discussion, he displayed wonderful patience and endurance. Thus, he could play the part of a leader in a sudden dash, or in a long siege, with equal success.

Death has been busy with the noble little Congressional band that refused to respond to the exactions of the Disunionists on the Kansas question nearly four years ago. The first called was that type of the gentleman, the soldier, and the statesman, Thomas L. Harris, of Illinois. I think I can see his pale face and flashing eye now as he almost staggered, stricken with wasting disease, to his seat in the Hall of the House of Representatives. I can almost hear his manly voice protesting against the wrong under which a great party reeled to its lasting overthrow. He lived long enough to prove his more than human courage, and left us just before his repeated prophecies

came near their fulfilment. The next summoned to the eternal bar was David C. Broderick, of California. God had stamped him for a leader. Too virtuous to be bribed, too fearless to falter, too disinterested to be corruptly ambitious, he sleeps on the breezy hills that overlook the proud metropolis of his adopted State, within the sound of the anthem of the sea, surrounded by a population who loved him living and mourn him dead. [Applause.] Slaughtered for his opinions, deliberately marked out for sacrifice, his farewell words were a sad presage to the events of which his death was the equally sad beginning: "They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of Slavery and a corrupt Administration."

And then, saddest loss of all, comes the death of the man, who, however criticised during his eventful struggle with Power, was the leader of the most heroic, disinterested protest against political crime in high places our New World has ever known. The men engaged with Douglas, in this protest, were Democrats whose whole experience had been that of close relationship with Southern statesmen, and that of earnest devotion to Southern rights. When they took up arms against their party organization, it was not without reluctance. When they arrayed themselves against an Administration new in office, and in the full possession of undisposed-of patronage, they did not do so without counting the cost of the experiment. They were reminded of others, in by-gone days, who had grappled with power and had fallen under its severe displeasure; but they were men of iron nerve and conscientious convictions. They felt that, whatever might happen to them, the truths they advocated must triumph, and so they persevered till the whole work of destiny was completed. [Applause.]

The three characters alluded to, were characters of extraordinary endurance, fitted to give counsel to common party lead-

ers—created for the bitterest responsibilities of the scenes in which they lived. They began their movement full of determination—they closed their connection with it by offering their lives as an evidence of their sincerity.

I am not accustomed to the habit of studied eulogy. Realizing, profoundly, the loss of our great national leader, who fell in the prime of life, and at a moment when he would have been most effective to defend the Administration of the general Government against the attacks of secret and of open enemies, and, with no disposition to invade the sanctity of that home of which he was the household god, I can only repeat, in conclusion, the appropriate lines of Walter Scott:

“He is gone on the mountain,
He is lost to the forest,
Like a summer-dried fountain,
When our need was the sorest.
The font reappearing,
From the rain drops shall borrow,
But to us comes no cheering—
No Douglas to-morrow.

“The hand of the reaper
Takes the ears that are hoary,
But the voice of the weeper
Wails manhood in glory.
The autumn winds, rushing,
Waft the leaves that are searest,
But our flower was in flushing
When blighting was nearest.

“Fleet foot on the correi,
Sage counsel in cumber,
Red hand in the foray,
How sound is thy slumber!
Like the dew on the mountain,
Like the foam on the river,
Like the bubble on the fountain,
Thou art gone, and forever!”



6

9

EULOGY

UPON

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY,

CHICAGO, JULY 3, 1861.

BY JAMES W. SHEAHAN.



CHICAGO:

"POST" PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT, 83 DEARBORN STREET.
1861.

1863, July 29.

Gift of

Rev. John C. Burroughs.

Pres. of the Univ. of Chicago.

AT a meeting of the Trustees and Regents of the CHICAGO UNIVERSITY, held June 6, 1861, with other proceedings, touching the death of the HON. S. A. DOUGLAS, it was ordered that at the annual commencement exercises on the 3d of July, there be an oration upon the illustrious Statesman, and President of the Board of Trustees. It was further ordered that the HON. SAMUEL H. TREAT, Judge of the United States District Court for the southern district of Illinois, be appointed orator for the occasion. Subsequently, on the 30th June, finding himself so restrained by official duties, that it was impossible to attend, Judge Treat informed the committee of his inability to be present.

In the meantime, committees of the Common Council, and of the Douglas Club having been similarly disappointed in the persons chosen by them to deliver a like oration, proposed to Mr. Sheahan to deliver the address, and for that purpose united with the committee on the part of the University, and agreed to have but one address, to be delivered at the commencement exercises. The following explains the cause of publication of the address :

CHICAGO, JULY 5, 1861.

JAS. W. SHEAHAN, Esq.,

Dear Sir : The undersigned, comprising a joint committee of the Common Council of this city, and the University of Chicago, appointed to supervise the publication of your very able and eloquent Eulogy on the late STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, delivered at Bryan Hall, on the 3d July, inst., at the annual commencement exercises of the College, by invitation of the Trustees, in which the Common Council and Douglas Club participated ; do now, in discharge of their duty, herewith enclose you a copy of the Resolutions unanimously agreed upon at the close of your address, and request you will furnish them a copy for publication.

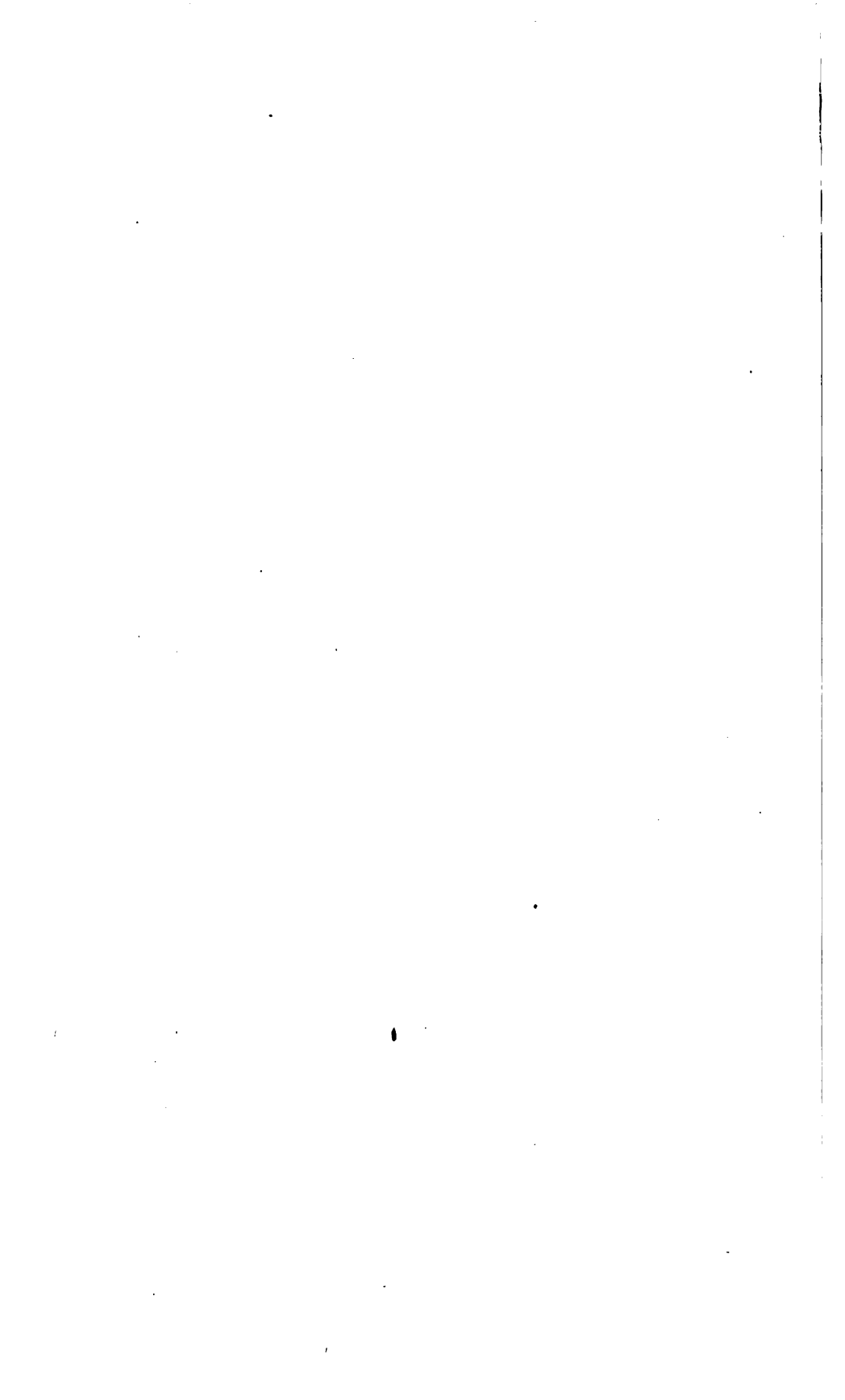
In performance of this duty, the committee would gladly, if this were deemed a proper occasion, reiterate the sentiment which the passage of the resolution itself more fitly implies and emphasizes. The degree of universal satisfaction and pleasure which was experienced at the merits of your performance was heartily manifested at the time of its delivery, by the applause, long continued, of the audience who were present and heard it. The committee feel, that in its speedy publication, they can in no way more acceptably gratify the wishes of the people of this City and State, whom circumstance prevented from being present, than in hastening its distribution by means of the press, for their perusal.

With kind regards, we remain,

Very truly, yours,

THOMAS HOYT,	}	Committee of Trustees of Chicago University.
SAMUEL HOARD,		
THOS. DICKINSON,		

J. Q. HOYT,	}	Committee of Common Council.
JOHN COMiskey,		
WM. COLBY.		



EULOGY.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

The man who could command fitting terms and proper words in which to speak of Douglas, would indeed be an Orator. The man, who in reading the public life of Douglas, is capable of comprehending in all their fullness, the purposes, the aims and the plans of his wide-spread policy, would indeed be a Statesman. And to speak of Douglas and of Douglas' great deeds, as they deserve, will demand another Douglas—for he was both Orator and Statesman—unrivaled, because in oratory and statesmanship he was his own model and his own example.

I am neither Orator nor Statesman; and, therefore, have no expectation of doing justice to the subject. I am here, fellow-citizens as a substitute, called upon at the last moment, to supply, very indifferently, the place of others, who, being capable, unfortunately having been prevented from being present.

When the traveler hears, in his old age and retirement, the name of some distant city, village or land which had been familiar to him in his journeys, how his eyes will brighten, and the blood course more warmly through his heart, as that name recalls scenes of

love, of peril, of pleasure, or of storm. And to you, gentlemen, who were his political friends, and you who served with him in the establishment and conduct of this University, and to us all of Chicago, and of Illinois, will not, until the latest days of our lives, the name of Stephen A. Douglas carry back memories to days when he stood a tower of strength in the national edifice, and we found happiness and honor in resting at his feet?

And now, what shall I say of him? What shall I say of him whose name and achievements are familiar to us all? Shall I say to you that he was intellectually great? That fact is recorded in enduring characters upon the history of his country—characters carved by himself mid the storms of controversy, the heat of popular anger, the tumult of popular passion, as well as in the hours of national peace. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS was a man not only intellectually great, but gifted with a mind that was extraordinarily active. Trace him from the day, when having mastered his letters at his mother's knee, he was sent with his sister to the village school, down to the last moment before death stilled forever the massive, active brain, and you find that the mind of Douglas not only took in the present in its comprehensive grasp, but also and always, sought to penetrate that future, in which for the honor and glory of his country, he hoped and determined to bear an active and honorable part. He was rarely, if ever, merely quiescent. He rarely, if ever, gave a partial, cold or a careless support to any measure of public policy; he was either the firm and persevering and ardent advocate, or he was the firm and persevering and ardent opponent. His mind was so constituted, that even when surrounded by counsellors and friends urging him to a policy that would result in his own personal advancement, he could not govern his acts, control his speech, or regulate his movements by any thought of personal advantage; and hence it was that there was forever coming up from the lips of professional politicians

the complaint that just as everything had been fixed, and every plan and preparation made for his elevation, Douglas would, by some speech, letter or act blow their whole scheme to atoms, and dissipate all their hopes of ever reaching power and place through his statesmanship. If there be any present who ever participated in party struggles with him, they will, I am sure, verify the truth of what I have said. He was forever knocking over the paper houses and pasteboard castles which the professional politicians of his party were erecting for his benefit; and he did so because his mind was of that practical nature which rejected everything and all things that would not survive the severe test and crushing pressure of fixed and imperative principle.

He was remarkable for the almost instantaneous judgments he formed and expressed upon all propositions; he never wavered; he rarely doubted; and never changed his conviction. This peculiarity has been the subject of complaint from friend, and has served to poison many a shaft from an adversary's bow. Political friends, whose notion of political navigation is to keep forever in smooth water, and never go out of sight of land, always considered Douglas an unsafe leader, because, instead of looking at new questions, with the view of taking such course as would avoid a storm, and keep the cargo of spoils safely stowed, he would promptly decide the matter upon its merits, and calling on all who dare defend the right, boldly launch out to meet the gale, and battle with its consequences.

And why, fellow-citizens, did Mr. Douglas act thus? I say that it was because he had the most unbounded confidence in the people. He believed, and the conviction had become part of his nature, that the popular heart was honest, that the popular mind was intelligent, and that time and reason would inevitably bring an honest and intelligent people to an appreciation of the right; and that a people thus led to appreciate and approve, would in

the end prove far more reliable citizens, and a surer bulwark for the Union than a people cajoled by sophistry into a hasty endorsement of a policy, which, not having been examined and adopted by reason, might, at any moment of popular excitement be as hastily abandoned.

The great secret, or, the great means which enabled him to decide with such apparent rapidity and accuracy, upon all points of national politics, consisted in nothing more nor less than that he tried all such questions by certain principles. As parallel lines must be equally distant from each other at all points, and cannot be parallel if otherwise, so if any measure or policy or doctrine deviated even to a hair's breadth from the iron rule by which he marked the line of duty and of patriotism, then, to the extent of that deviation, be it great or small, that measure, or policy, or doctrine, in his judgment, was wrong. But do not let me be understood as saying that his judgments were after the Procrustean style. He did not say a thing should be so short or so long, so broad and so narrow; but he said the north star indicated the true pole, and that that compass that turned to the right or to the left, and pointed elsewhere than to the starry beacon, fixed from all time by God's own unerring hand, was a false compass, and, together with the pilot who persisted in its use, ought to be thrown overboard, and sunk into the sea.

It has been popular at times, with the enemies of Mr. Douglas, to charge him with truckling to the slave interest. Never, never, was there greater injustice. I speak of this not to vindicate his party fidelity, nor his patriotism, but to vindicate from an ungenerous aspersion, his powerful intellect. He truckle to any one! He stoop, and be mean and sordid! It was impossible for him to do so. He despised, and held in utter abhorrence that system of political bondage which held free-born men of intelligence as servitors at the stirrup of those who claim by prescription the priv-

ilege of riding rough shod over all who thronged the high road of life. He was a FREEMAN in the fullest sense of the term. He resisted the aggressive claims of slavery, and with equal power the aggressive aims of the abolitionists. He could not unite with either wholly, because he held both to be wrong. He stood manfully beside slavery when slavery claimed what the constitution granted it; he stood as manfully with the abolitionists in resisting slavery when it demanded more than the constitution granted. But he would stand by neither slavery nor abolitionism when they sought to go beyond the constitution. Had slavery been content with what the constitution granted it, it would have been an easy task to crush out abolitionism. Had abolitionism sought only to confine slavery by the limits of the constitution, it would have been as easy to crush out the wild advocates of extra constitutional privileges. Mr. Douglas labored to bring either of these adverse factions to a constitutional theory and practice, and would have succeeded, had he not been betrayed, even in the hour of success, by men who were ready to sacrifice themselves and country for the wretched satisfaction of ruining him.

Mr. Douglas never, I say it confidently, yielded one iota of principle to slavery. His intellect forbade it. His whole political system was like a delicately constructed apparatus, in which the motive power, as well as mechanical agents were principles so intimately connected and harmoniously arranged, that were he to withdraw a single spring, or pivot, or wheel, or other part, no matter how minute, the whole fabric would fall to pieces, a total wreck and ruin. He took pride in being the architect of his own fame—a fame gained in spite of opposition, and those who knew him intimately know that there was always a greater probability of his seeking and provoking hostility than truckling or yielding to avoid it. He was brave; he was confident; he knew the power of his own great intellect; and it is unnatural to suppose that

he would stoop when he might command. He was an American, and who is there that dare now rise up and say that it is consistent with the American character to truckle to, and fear an enemy, even openly arrayed in arms, when you have the power in the field to sweep it from the face of the earth.

Mr. Douglas was a Patriot, and his patriotism, his devotion to the flag and honor and integrity of the Union did not date their birth with the commencement of the present war. There have been other wars, and other occasions, when there was need of strong arms in the field, and stout hearts and eloquent words in council. Mr. Douglas, the moment this war commenced, promptly visited the President, tendering him all the aid he could render, —not seeking, like others, to be made a brigadier in a service of which he knew nothing—but tendering him for the support of the constitution and the laws, a power in the nation which no one save himself could successfully wield. In this we have another instance of Mr. Douglas' promptness in decision. We all know how hostile a large body of our own people were to the war; we all know that had Stephen A. Douglas hesitated; had he played false to himself and his country; had he called on the disloyal and disaffected to resist the war, the campaign would have commenced not on the banks of the Potomac, but on the shores of Lake Michigan. In this case, as in all others, his conduct was governed by principle; that principle he had expressed in these bold and emphatic words: "Patriotism emanates from the heart; it fills the soul; inspires the whole man with a devotion to his country's cause; and speaks and acts in the same language. The Union wants no friends, acknowledges the fidelity of no citizen who, after war is declared, condemns the justice of her cause, and sympathises with her enemies. All such are traitors in their hearts, and it only remains for them to commit some overt act, for which they may be dealt with according to their deserts."

When were these memorable words uttered? Were they spoken when Sumter was sustaining the fiery cannonade? Were they uttered when hostile legions were investing Pickens? When traitorous Twiggs was giving up the country's arms and munitions to the traitors in Texas? Was it when preparations were maturing for the capture of the federal city? Not so, fellow-citizens! Stephen A. Douglas had not lived to the mature age of forty-eight to have his tongue touched for the first time with the fire of patriotism. He was a patriot in 1861, but he had been as patriotic before that period. The words I have quoted were uttered when the brave and gallant old veteran Taylor occupied the east bank of the Rio Grande, and a miserable faction in Congress were disputing, as another miserable faction is now disputing in Congress,* over the point whether the President of the United States had not exceeded his constitutional authority in defending the soil and government from invasion. If the words I have read are just and patriotic to-day, and who will say they are not? they were as just and patriotic fifteen years ago; and being just and patriotic then, he did not hesitate to utter them *then*, but left to craven time-servers and sycophantic demagogues the privilege of waiting until 1861 to say it was treason to give aid or comfort, material or moral, to the enemies of their country's flag.

I have spoken of his confidence in the honesty and intelligence of the people. This was the grand foundation of all his plans and policies. He proposed nothing, suggested nothing, planned nothing that did not have as the foundation the honest will of the people. Take up all the schemes that he may have framed, examine them closely, notice the varied styles and purposes of the superstructures, and then you will find that each and all of them rest, or were intended to rest, upon the virtuous intelligence of his

* This Oration was, by invitation, repeated July 18th before the Douglas Invincibles, of Chicago, for the benefit of the "Douglas Fund."

countrymen. He never, even in the darkest hours of popular hostility, never despaired of the people. He never complained of them, but the records of the country contain many an expression of his estimate of the demagogues who ride upon every storm, not caring into what folly or confusion it may carry the country. His devotion to popular interests was tinged with no demagogueism. He was oftener in conflict with the leaders and fomenters of popular violence and passion than at peace with them. He claimed to be one of the people; he laid no claim to distinction from ancestry; he preferred to be an honor to his name than to receive honor from it. He had known poverty and humiliation; he had known what it was to want for bread, and not to have the means to procure it. He had known and seen, when struggling in obscurity, the artifices and wickedness of those who abuse the confidence of the unsuspecting populace. His sympathies and feelings were all with the mass of his countrymen, and to their service did he devote his life. He never feared a political result, if the popular decision was postponed to a time which admitted of reaching them by argument and reason. He never was defeated by popular will. The election of last year was no criterion of Mr. Douglas' popular strength. Had there been any hope of his election; had the country not been divided by sectional strife and wicked purposes, there would have been a popular manifestation in his favor such as had never been made in the case of any other American statesman.

You have heard that in the conduct of military matters the fortunes of a disastrous conflict or campaign are sometimes reversed by the indomitable energy and bravery of a forlorn hope—that body of men who are sent out on a desperate enterprise, as a last resort, to overcome, by a bold adventure, the advantages of the enemy. You can well understand the feelings of the brave hearts engaged in this enterprise, as they march upon a mission that is

to end in their death and in the defeat of their cause, or in rolling back the tide of defeat that has pursued them. Yet they have *hope*. The chances may be fearful, but nevertheless there is hope, and history is filled with instances of the successful achievements of a forlorn hope. But in November last, what a spectacle was presented! One million four hundred thousand freemen, with an unfailing constancy, a devotion and a heroic fidelity to their cause, marched up to the polls and voted for STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS! Their cause was in as desperate a strait as ever was that of a defeated army; they knew they were marked men; they were conspicuously adorned for the shots of the enemy, yet they hesitated not, they faltered not, nor were they dismayed. They were forlorn, but they could not call themselves a forlorn hope, for they had no *hope*; all was lost, all was gone. An active enemy in front, a base and treacherous foe in the rear; nevertheless, with bayonets fixed, shoulder to shoulder, and with locked step, in solid column, and with rapid stride, they marched boldly to the last encounter! That was devotion to be proud of, and the noble leader, whose courage had led him personally into the very recesses of the enemy's camp, felt prouder of these million and half of unbought votes, given for him by men who knew he had not and would not have offices or rewards to bestow, than if he had been elected by the exertions of those who were confident of favors at his hands.

Since Clay, no American ever had such hosts of devoted personal friends, ever had such multitudes follow him because they loved him personally. In the consciousness of this popular affection, Mr. Douglas found ample compensation for his public labors. And it was his boast and his pride, that he had never, by precept or example taught any of his countrymen to refuse to honor and to follow the flag of his country, or to resist, oppose and defy the laws and Constitution of the Union. So strong was this honorable

pride, so ever present was the gratifying thought, that even in his dying hours, rousing temporarily from the delirium of fever, he gave that memorable message to his children: "TELL THEM TO LOVE AND OBEY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."

I have said Mr. Douglas was an American. His Americanism was of a peculiar nature. Long before he entered Congress, during the political controversies of 1841, '42, he laid down as a fact which he hoped to see demonstrated in recorded history, that North America was not too large for this American republic, that the American flag could cover but one nation, and that nation should extend from the extreme north to the lowest waters of the Gulf of Mexico. Twenty years ago, he declared in Congress that there was not room enough on this continent for another government—either republican or monarchical, and at the hour of his death, this nation, with the government in the hands of men who had sneered at his doctrine, and styled his policy as demagogueism, was about to try, by the ordeal of battle, whether the national ensign could be kept extended over our present existing limits, or a banner with a strange device, planted over half the republic. I cannot do him greater justice than to quote his own clear and forcible language: "It therefore, becomes us to put this nation in "a state of defense; and when we are told that this will lead to war, "all I have to say is this: violate no treaty stipulations, nor any "principle of the law of nations; preserve the national honor and "integrity of the country; but, at the same time, assert our right "to the last inch, and then, if war comes, let it come. We may "regret the necessity which produced it, but when it does come, "I would administer to our citizens Hannibal's oath of eternal "enmity, and not terminate it until the question was settled forever." That was his language twenty years ago, and yet there are those who affect to believe that Stephen A. Douglas did not become a patriot until after he had lost all hope of southern sup-

port. It is true that this was said respecting anticipated trouble with a foreign foe, but the language is perfectly applicable to a domestic enemy. He had more respect for, and could recognize and admit a degree of honor on the part of a foreign enemy, that he could not concede to a domestic one. His memorable words—that in civil war there can be no neutrals—we must be patriots or traitors—will serve to show his estimate of those who dare to violate the Constitution of the United States.

But that was not all he said. In almost prophetic language, he then described a case which is now before the country for decision. He declared that he would never consent that rival petty republics should grow up on our border, engendering jealousy of each other, and interfering with each others domestic affairs, and continually endangering the peace of all. And the reason given for this was, that the establishment of a new republic on this continent would at once excite a jealousy towards our own, and as that new republic must naturally be the weaker, it would seek European alliances, and these alliances would of course make this rival an instrument in the hands of British power, through which to assail our interests. An ocean-bound republic, with the whole continent under one flag, was the favorite project of his early statesmanship, and he lived just long enough to see the commencement of an attempt, by the very men who repudiated his policy, which, if successful, will see the Union split into as many governments as there are States, and each of them a prey to the avarice or intrigues of despotism abroad.

Time will not permit, nor is this altogether an appropriate occasion to dwell upon the many and varied national matters in which Mr. Douglas took an active part. For twenty years he was a leading man in the politics of the country. During that time he has borne a conspicuous part. His name has been blended with the legislative history of his country, and in all the branches of its

progress. The debates of Congress are an imperishable monument to his industry, his sagacity, and his love of country. The great act of legislation upon which his opponents have assailed him most fiercely, and which, even after death, has been quoted as "the great mistake, not to say crime" of his life, was the one in which he took the most pride, and which he felt to be the wisest and the best. It was the Nebraska Act. A defence of that act is not needed here, but as it served for years as a battery, from which he was assailed, it is but proper that in a few sentences it be stated why he proposed it, why he pressed it, and why it failed.

Mr. Douglas was one of those who saw that the agitation of the slavery question in Congress could accomplish nothing save to widen the social and political breach that has always existed between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. Seven years experience in Congress confirmed him in the opinion that it was necessary to remove that question from the halls of the national legislature. In 1850 the compromise bills of that year, of which he wrote every word, were passed. California had been acquired, and a road to the Pacific was indispensable. In 1854 the immense tract of territory now known as Nebraska and Kansas was closed by law to emigration and to travel. Like a huge block it barred the natural pathway to the Pacific. The South was pressing a railroad from Memphis, and southwesterly across the continent. Mr. Douglas wanted a fair chance to have that railroad lead from the north, where it could find communication through Chicago to the Atlantic. Our railroads had already reached the Mississippi, and others were projected, extending to the Missouri. He wanted Nebraska and Kansas opened, and the country made free to the enterprise of the north. In case of a dissolution of the Union, it was essential to have the Pacific connected by some other route than one through a hostile section.—That was the motive for organizing these territories—a motive

having its origin in the desire to benefit the whole nation, and especially to give to the northwest a fair opportunity to compete for the commerce of the great east.

But that curse of all things, the question of African slavery, lay at the threshold. He could not open Kansas and Nebraska without waking the sleeping Demon. He therefore determined to make one grand struggle, to seize the monster, to invite both North and South to unite in chaining it; and having it in chains, to remove it forever beyond the limits of national legislation. For that purpose he framed the Nebraska Act, by which he asked the North and the South forever to bind themselves to leave the question of the existence or non-existence of slavery to the exclusive adjudication and determination of the people of the respective territories. The bill passed, and became a law. Its design and intent plainly stamped upon its face, and its friends all committed to abide its results. He had accomplished all his purposes, so far as they could be done by legislation. The rest he left to time and to the intelligence of the people; and throughout the eventful years that followed he was not an indifferent but a confident spectator, waiting for results which every day were more inevitably certain. For two years he fought rebellion in Kansas, and to Pierce he offered just what he offered to Lincoln—his aid in suppressing rebellion, and resistance to the laws and Constitution. In 1856 the Cincinnati convention met. He was but little troubled as to who should be the nominee, but he was greatly agitated lest some portion of the South would not ratify and approve the great act of 1854. But that convention, without a dissenting voice, did ratify that act, and then from the very bottom of his heart he rejoiced. The chain which bound fanaticism forever had been revited, and the territories were no longer to be divided by a black line, but freedom was as free to go to the lowest confines of the continent as it was to tread the ocean-washed shores of Oregon. Never, except

by something approaching a miracle, would there be another slave State formed by the free will of the people, and no State, except formed by the free will of the people, could ever be admitted without a violation of the contract. In the fullness of his joy, and in the tumult of his gratitude, he sent that dispatch which, while it withdrew his name, unfortunately made Mr. Buchanan President.

Despite the civil war and rebellion which had reigned in Kansas, the great measure worked its own way successfully towards the contemplated result; when lo, there came a blow so sudden and unexpected, that no human sagacity could have been prepared to meet it. The Lecompton fraud was taken to the executive bosom, nursed into life; a message was sent to Congress, requesting that, after the manner of royal infants in other lands, this only child of the bachelor President, should be portioned, pensioned and provided for at the national charge. Had Mr. Buchanan been true to his trust, true to his plighted honor, and true to the solemn oath of office, the issue of disunion would have been tried on the Lecompton question, and rebellion would have been compelled to take up arms in defence of that horrid fraud—a fraud covered with blood, and reeking with the stench of the most shocking corruptions. Had he been true, Mr. Douglas' original design and expectations would have been verified, and the ultraists of the South, and not of the North, would have heaped contumely upon the Nebraska bill and its author.

As the corner stone of this University was laid under an anathema upon the Nebraska bill and its living author, I have thought it not inappropriate, that in burying the illustrious dead beneath its monumental towers, a record of the motive should be placed where posterity may find that and the anathema together.

Mr. Douglas was an independent statesman. Looking at all questions from an immovable stand point of principle, he could neither be coaxed nor driven into an approval of what he deemed

to be wrong. To you fellow-citizens, in whose memory the eventful struggle of 1857-'58 is still fresh, it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the wicked and desperate efforts to destroy him, put forth by the relentless old tyrant that fancied he was President, but who was a mere puppet in the hands of that junta that since then have openly avowed themselves traitors, even while in office, to the government of which they were sworn members. His offence was that he would not truckle to the South, would not support a fraud, would not overturn popular liberty, and would not falsify every act and speech of his life. Party rule and party lash were threatened; party rule and party lash were applied, but strong and powerful as were his fealty and obligations to his party, he acknowledged a higher fealty to the people, and a stronger obligation to his own conscience. He spurned executive smiles when those smiles were invitations to crime, and with giant arm, he struck to the dust the slaves who sought to bind him with chains of executive despotism. Standing almost alone in the Senate House, he met the storm, and sustained the shock unmoved, and never laid down his arms until the foul monster—LECOMPTON—lay dead and prostrate beneath his feet. That contest afforded a fairer exhibition of Mr. Douglas' varied talents than any that had preceeded it. But it also conveyed to the heart of every honest man, the conviction that he was sincere. No man had ever been subjected to such an ordeal. Denounced and proscribed by the Democratic administration; excluded, as far as a mean and vengeful cabinet could do so, politically and socially; surrounded by thousands of politicians, from every part of the country, beseeching him not to sacrifice his party, by dividing it, and not to sacrifice his friends, by having them thrust from office; deserted by the entire democratic press outside of his own State, and abandoned by all those public men upon whose support he had reason to rely; with a watchful enemy in front, anxious for

him to trip, or overstep the line of principle, that they might precipitate his ruin, and elect one of their own men in his place; with his house watched by detectives, to report who visited him, and with visitors coming under the guise of confidence and friendship, to hold conversations, which they purposed revealing to his injury; stricken even in the midst of these fearful circumstances, by a painful and disabling illness, it is not too much to say that the mental faculties must have been strong indeed to have passed through that protracted contest without once giving way to doubt or hesitancy. And when, so far as the Senate was concerned, the last vote was to be taken, how that mind, operating sympathetically upon his physical nature, enabled him to rise from a bed, where, for days, he had been racked with pain, and in that chamber deliver a speech which has never been surpassed.

His power of endurance, both physical and mental, were truly surprising, commencing as long ago as 1838, when he traversed in his campaign with Mr. Stuart, a region that now has nine congressional districts, down to 1840, and annually to 1852; and then the stormy campaigns of 1854, where opposite every hustings hung his own effigies; and again in 1856, when he traveled, up to the very hour of the election, pledging himself that Buchanan was a patriot and a man of truth. Hardly had he placed that individual in power, before he was called upon to vindicate himself from his agency in the fraud. And then followed the campaign, (I use the term by which these affairs are popularly known,) of 1858, with its excitements, its personalities, and you will pardon a soldier in that memorable contest, for saying—its brilliant results. That election Mr. Douglas never claimed as a personal victory; he did not regard it as a defeat of Mr. Lincoln, but he claimed it as a triumph of the PEOPLE, in a direct conflict with executive tyranny. In 1860, his physical and mental endurance was again fearfully tested. Commencing on the Potomac, I may say, he

spoke day and night along the Atlantic coast, until he reached the shores of New England; his voice then sounded on his own native hills of Vermont, and the valley of the Connecticut echoed to its clarion notes. Passing westward through New York, he reached Lake Erie, and then by another route returned to the seacoast. We hear of him awaking the yeomanry of Pennsylvania, and then he is electrifying the Van Winkles of North Carolina and Virginia. He then turned to the west, and through Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and his own loved Illinois, he spoke to the gallant hosts that everywhere greeted him, not in the despairing mood of one who knew that all was lost, but in the language of a patriot and brother, finding more consolation in a virtuous defeat than a victory bought with personal shame and national ruin. His words may be said to have been these: "We have stood thus long "defending the altars of our country; if we must be overcome by numbers, let us fall side by side, and be buried with a constitution we can no longer successfully defend."

During his entire residence in Illinois he was an active participant in public discussions. Of course, his more recent canvasses are better known than others, but his journeyings to and fro have always been remarkable. In 1838 he traveled and spoke daily from March to November. In the election in 1840, he commenced in December, 1839, and continued without intermission until November following—a period of eleven months. If he, at that time could not, from the absence of railroads, reach distant points with the facility afforded in late years, the labor of journeying on horseback, in open wagon, and frequently on foot, was more oppressive.

He was an Orator such as America has never known. His oratory was not exclusively adapted to any one, or any number of circumstances. Wherever he was, at the festive table, at the college exhibition, at a public reception, at a meeting of savans, at

the village school, before the court, before a town meeting, in the Senate—everywhere, under all circumstances, he was equal to the occasion, and claimed and won the proud title of an Orator. His oratory was peculiar to himself. He was always natural. He never attempted the pedantic; he never sought to dazzle by fanciful imagery; he never employed any but the simplest language. The consequence was that gifted with a strong mind, a complete vocabulary of purest Saxon, and speaking always from an earnest conviction, he addressed himself to the minds of his hearers, and rarely ever failed to reach their hearts and enlist their sympathies.

No man owed more to his powers of oratory than Mr. Douglas, and no man ever accomplished more by oratory than he did. In 1834, when he had not been in the State six months, he met in debate one of the ablest lawyers and distinguished speakers of that day. He was a beardless youth, unknown, small and delicately made. His opponent the political leader of his county, at home and among friends and neighbors who took pride in his success. That event is familiarly known. It was but a re-enactment of the story of David and Goliath, with this addition that the populace in their enthusiasm bestowed upon the victor the title of the vanquished, a term which followed him ever after.

But it was in the Senate that this great power was shown in all its force. That was the great arena of his glory. There he stood without a successful rival. In that theatre he bid defiance to all opponents, and in that theatre he gained his most unfading laurels.

It was my good fortune while engaged in another business than that I now follow, to have been a witness of and to have heard all the debates in the Senate on the compromises of 1850, and on the celebrated Kansas and Nebraska act. And what debates they were! As I recall them at this time, when the literature and conversation of the day is altogether of a military and warlike

character, that Senate seems to me as one general battle field, in which every possible engine of war is playing its noisy and destructive part.

Distinct, deep and sonorous comes the booming sound of Webster's heaviest columbiad; sharper, quicker, yet fully as loud, comes the thunder of Clay's rifled cannon; at regular intervals fall upon the ear the loud explosions from Benton's largest mortar, the projectiles producing fear and consternation in their fall; and then in its terrible magnificence, I hear the Seward belching forth his grape and case and cannister. Mingled with these come the less noisy but incessant discharges of small arms from Hale, Foote, Mason, Benjamin, Weller, Dodge, Baldwin and Clemens; and in rapid succession, now from one point and now from another, I see the flashing and hear the report of the light artillery, played by Chase and Sumner, Hunter, Badger, Shields, Butler and Wade; and from the outskirts of the field recognize the crack of the sharpshooter's rifle in the hands of Toombs, Rantoul, Winthrop, and a host of others. The din is fearful. The clouds of battle lower over all; the drums beat the charge with eternal rattle; the bugle calls and recalls; legions move forward and retire, and cross before the vision; and during all, the booming of cannon, and the sharp clang of small arms go on constantly. And where, it is asked, in all this, is the Douglas?

Look back once more to that field! Look how columns are now pressing upon columns more closely; how intense the anxiety that is evidenced by all, and harken to the thunder that is rolling up yon valley. It grows louder and louder, and suddenly but resplendently there emerges on the field a new power. As with the force of ten thousand horse, led on by a more than Rupert, he thunders over the field; he charges boldly upon the square and solid array of bayonets before him, breaks the line, tramples down the living mass, rides through the host, dealing death on all sides; no sooner

through than back again, and then transversely, until of that wall of iron and human arms, not one is left to stay his progress. Right before him stands a battery, pouring down all manner of destructive projectiles upon him; he turns full upon it, dashes headlong up the hill, approaches until he can see down into the yawning ordnance. Nor does he pause there, but giving free rein to his steed, he charges boldly on, leaps both cannon and cannoniers, and by the sword—carries the hill! This dispatched, without pausing to rest, but with eye fixed upon some opponent, glittering in the pride of a new donned uniform, he dashes down the hill, sweeps across the field, and with a shock that startles the whole arrayed host, carries to the earth the luckless wight who had so recently played defiant; and thus from point to point, with an impetuosity that nothing can resist, a daring that seems to secure its own safety, he continues his course, until the foe is silenced, and victorious friends greet, with deafening cheers, the mighty champion of the people. There—that is the DOUGLAS!

But I leave the public servant, and ask your patience while I speak of the man. And after all, there can be no true greatness that has not an honorable heart to support and maintain it. His integrity was unquestionable and unquestioned. Never, even in the fiercest and most pitiless of all the many storms that broke upon him, was there ever a stain or an imputation upon his personal honor. Clay, with all his greatness, did not escape the calumny of corruption; Webster had enemies mean enough to charge him with bribery; but high as party and personal malice may reach after their victim, they spared the personal honor of Douglas. He went through nearly thirty years of public life, and no word of suspicion against his integrity was uttered. Until within a few years he had been poor; for twenty-five years he held office continually, and as legislator, judge and senator, he had remained not only pure, but unsuspected. He never received from office

more than enough to yield him an ordinary support for himself and family. Some years ago he invested a few hundred dollars in real estate. That investment grew in wealth, and extended until it became magnificent. His purchases were in and near Chicago, and if he became rich, it was because Chicago became rich. His wealth increased with the wealth of the city, and as that receded so did the value of his possessions. He could never amass wealth by the regular rules of trade. What he had was held by him only as trustee for the multitude who called him friend. With hand ever open, with purse strings never drawn, he dealt out with liberal hand to all who sought his aid. He prized riches only as a means of aiding others, and he gave freely and cordially while a dollar was left. His was no ostentatious liberality. Instead of crediting his own sagacity with the fortune that resulted from his investments, he recognized the disbursement of that fortune for noble purposes, as an additional obligation imposed upon him by Providence. Hence it was that the establishment of the Chicago University, when proposed to him, met, as you (President BURROUGHS) well know, a prompt and ready response. He saw in it a means by which he could serve the State, this city, and his fellow men, for all time to come, and with him Action always followed conviction. The establishment of the University at once became an object, and with the endowment came the practical and the only condition, that the building should at once be commenced. He did not fancy that spirit which hoards through life great masses of wealth, to be administered for good purposes after the owner is gone. He preferred to do good at once, and in seeing others enjoy the benefits of his liberality, found infinitely more happiness than if it had been retained by himself. He took the utmost pride in this University, and those who have supposed his life to have been devoted to the attainment of the Presidency, should know, as his friends do know, that

personally he found as much pleasure in the anticipation of presiding as President of the Regents of this University, and in the active business of all public enterprises, as in presiding at the cabinet councils of the nation. I do not say that he did not aspire to the Presidency of the Republic; but I do say, and say it from personal knowledge, that were it not for the sake of friends and to gratify their devotion and unlimited zeal, his political ambition would have sought no higher title than the Leader of the American Senate. He often contrasted the two positions of President and Senator, and took great personal pride in the fact that it had been demonstrated in his own case, that a President, though backed by all the powers of the nation, was not equal to a contest with a single Senator who did his duty to the people.

He is buried within sight of the halls of this University. At evening hour its shadows reach his tomb, covering it with the mellow light so appropriate to its solemn silence. As the pilgrim to his tomb shall stand at its side, musing on the memory of the dead, he will turn involuntarily to the west, and gazing upon the noble edifice, will exclaim—there stands the monument to the MAN which shall live forever; and which each year shall send forth to the country its graduates, all bearing upon their hearts the lesson of Douglas' great example.

Yet, this man with the free and bountiful hand, whose whole life was devoted to the service of the people, and upon whose private purse there was a never ending demand, died poor. From the magnificent domain which a few years ago he called his own, his family is debarred by the legal claims of others. In the broad State of Illinois, enriched by his labors, developed by his genius, and peopled through his enterprise, there was not ground enough that his children could call their own, in which to deposit his coffin.

The faithful widow, faithful even to the memory of the love

which her husband bore to Illinois, at the solicitation of the people, gave up all that was left of him, and gave too her own little tract of land for his grave. That grave, fellow citizens, stands uncovered. Within a few feet of it rolls by daily a score of ponderous locomotives, while the man, the statesman, patriot and orator, who called these railroads into being, lies without a stone to designate his resting place, without a sod to protect his grave from the rank verdure of weeds. And where are the widow and children? They have no home in Illinois, because the husband and father served the State and not himself. They are exiles—gone out from Illinois, because here they have neither home nor living. Shall this be forever? Will Illinois permit the children,—the orphans of her statesman to go forth to other States and to other climes, and from strangers receive that support and education which they cannot find in the land of their father. Cannot Illinoisians spare enough to redeem five acres of Cottage Grove, and build a house for the children, and erect a monument over the grave of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS? When he was buried were the affections of the people, the memory of past services, and the gratitude of his countrymen all buried with him? I trust not, and I trust further that from the place of temporary exile, the family of Douglas will soon be re-called, and the world informed that the American people will be just to those who have been true to the republic.

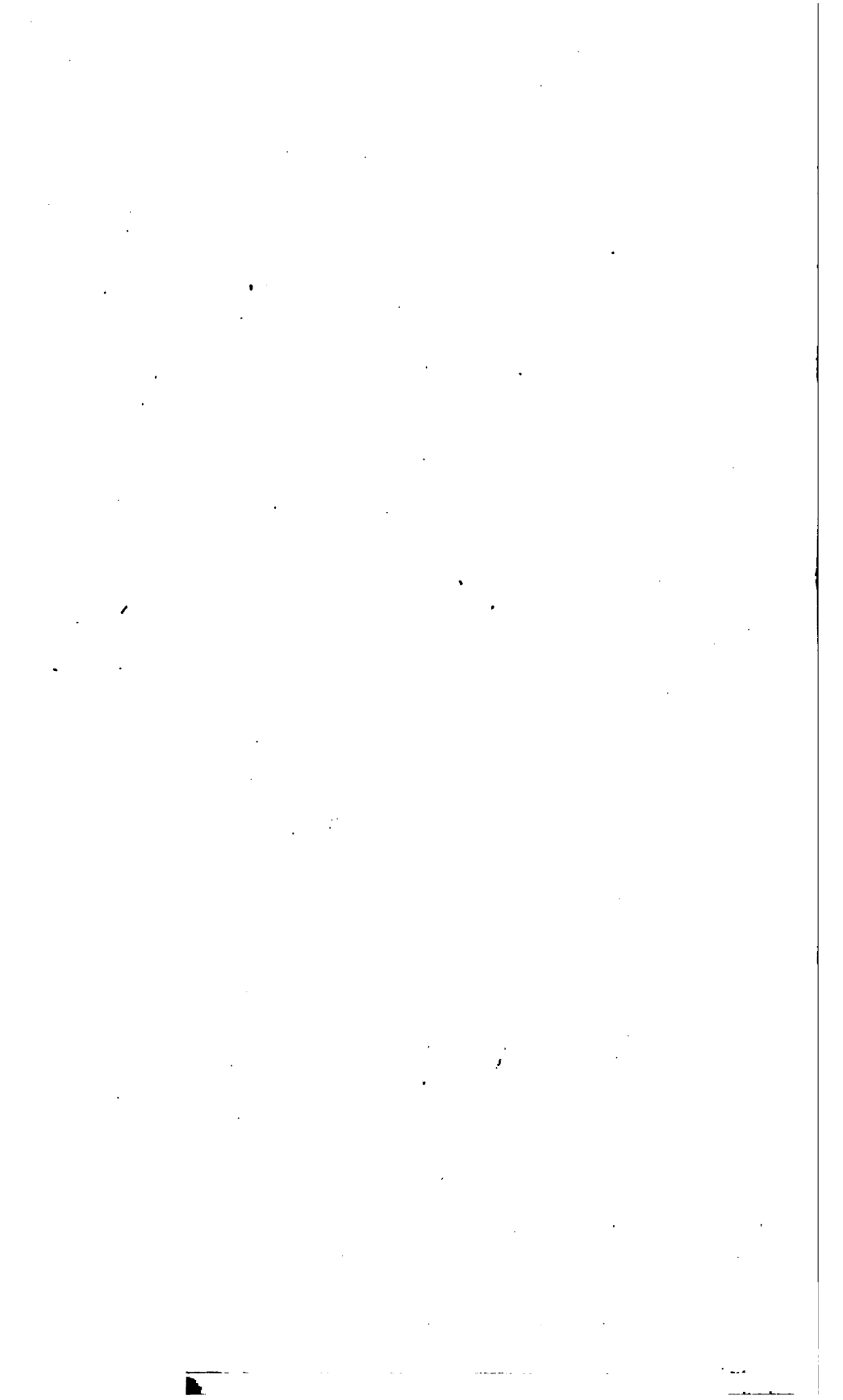
The country will hear with gratification that his associate regents and trustees, have, with great appropriateness, styled the grand apartment of the University, "DOUGLAS HALL," and have taken steps towards its completion. I trust that there will come up from every part of the northwest a generous assistance to your efforts to perpetuate his memory. Adorned with a statue, and emblazoned with his name, the hall will be to his countrymen an object of unfading interest.

I must conclude. The theme is a large one, but there must be a limit to all things. I have left much unsaid, or, perhaps I have said but little of what could have been said.

Let us hope that his life, devoted to the benefit of his race, may not have been spent in vain. His great heart throbbed and pulsated only for the public good, and let us hope that his countrymen now and hereafter may find in his patriotism integrity and life, an example worthy of imitation.

He has gone from among us, but he lives in his fame. No more will this city resound with the fierce clamor of popular rage, or be filled with the pageantry of his triumphal processions. No more will his voice be heard on the stump, in the forum, or in the Senate, but the student of history, during all coming time, will search in vain for the record of brighter deeds, of a purer life, of a nobler heart, of an equal eloquence, or for evidences of those indomitable attributes of intellect and manhood, that belong to, and must forever attach to the name of DOUGLAS !

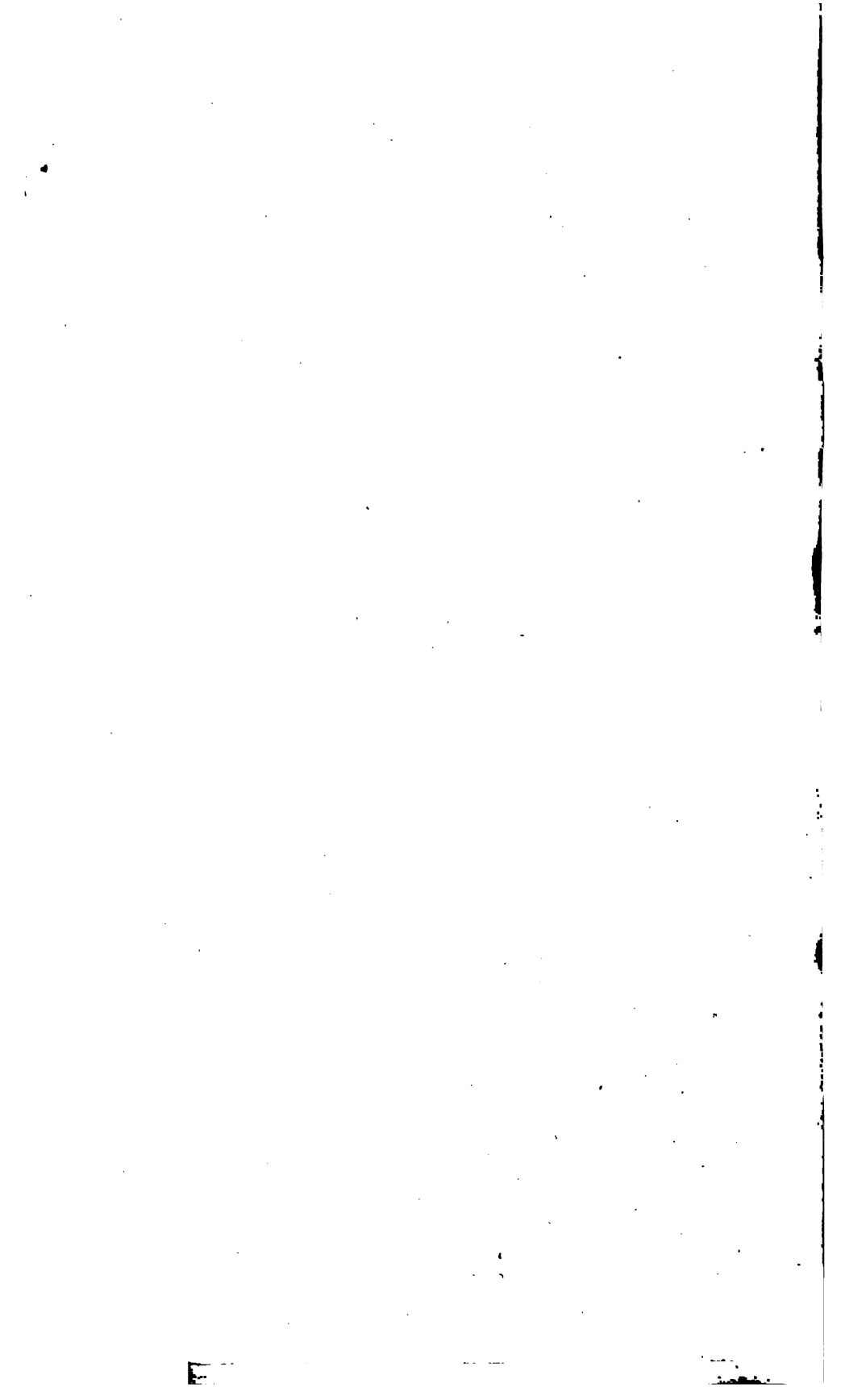




ORGANIZATION,
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
DOUGLAS MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION;
TOGETHER WITH
AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.



CHICAGO:
THE CHICAGO TIMES JOB PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT,
NO. 74 RANDOLPH STREET.
1862.



ORGANIZATION, CONSTITUTION

AND

BY-LAWS

OF THE

Douglas Monument

ASSOCIATION;

TOGETHER WITH

AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.



CHICAGO:

THE CHICAGO TIMES PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT,
No. 74 RANDOLPH STREET,
1862.

1862, - 1872.

1872,

Preliminary Proceedings.

On the 19th of October, 1861, was issued a call, signed by a number of well-known citizens, requesting a meeting of the friends of the late Senator DOUGLAS, for the purpose of devising the most judicious plan of organization, to carry out the wish of his friends and admirers for the erection of a suitable monument over his remains.

Pursuant to the call, the meeting was numerously attended, and a marked interest and enthusiasm were manifested in the proposed object.

At a subsequent meeting, held on the 8th of November, articles of association were adopted, to form the proposed constitution, and a committee was appointed to procure signatures to the same, and to call a full meeting of the subscribers, who were to select, in accordance with the constitution, twelve Trustees, out of eighteen, to whom the interests and business of the Association were to be committed.

After more than one hundred names had been obtained by the committee, the meeting was called, at which twelve gentlemen were unanimously chosen by the Association as its Trustees, who, at subse-

quent meetings of their body, filled up their number to eighteen, by the selection of six others, and elected their Officers and Executive Committee, in compliance with the constitution. They also adopted a code of By-Laws for their own regulation, together with an appeal to the public in behalf of their patriotic object.

Organization. ---

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

GEN. WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON,	.....	QUINCY.
HON. JOHN B. TURNER,	.....	CHICAGO.
“ WILLIAM B. OGDEN,	.....	“
“ WALTER B. SCATES,	.....	“
“ FRANCIS C. SHERMAN,	.....	“
“ WILLIAM C. GOUDY,	.....	“
“ SAMUEL W. FULLER,	.....	“
REV. WILLIAM BARRY,	.....	“
RT. REV. JAMES DUGGAN, D. D.,	.....	“
DAVID A. GAGE, Esq.,	.....	“
JOHN M. DOUGLAS, Esq.,	.....	“
THOMAS B. BRYAN, Esq.,	.....	“
JOHN S. NEWHOUSE, Esq.,	.....	“
HON. SAMUEL H. TREAT,	.....	SPRINGFIELD.
“ JAMES C. ALLEN,	.....	PALESTINE.
“ JOHN D. CATON,	.....	OTTAWA.
COL. JOHN A. LOGAN,	.....	BENTON.
“ JOHN DEMENT,	.....	DIXON.

OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT :

WALTER B. SCATES.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT :

THOMAS B. BRYAN.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT :

WILLIAM C. GOUDY.

TREASURER :

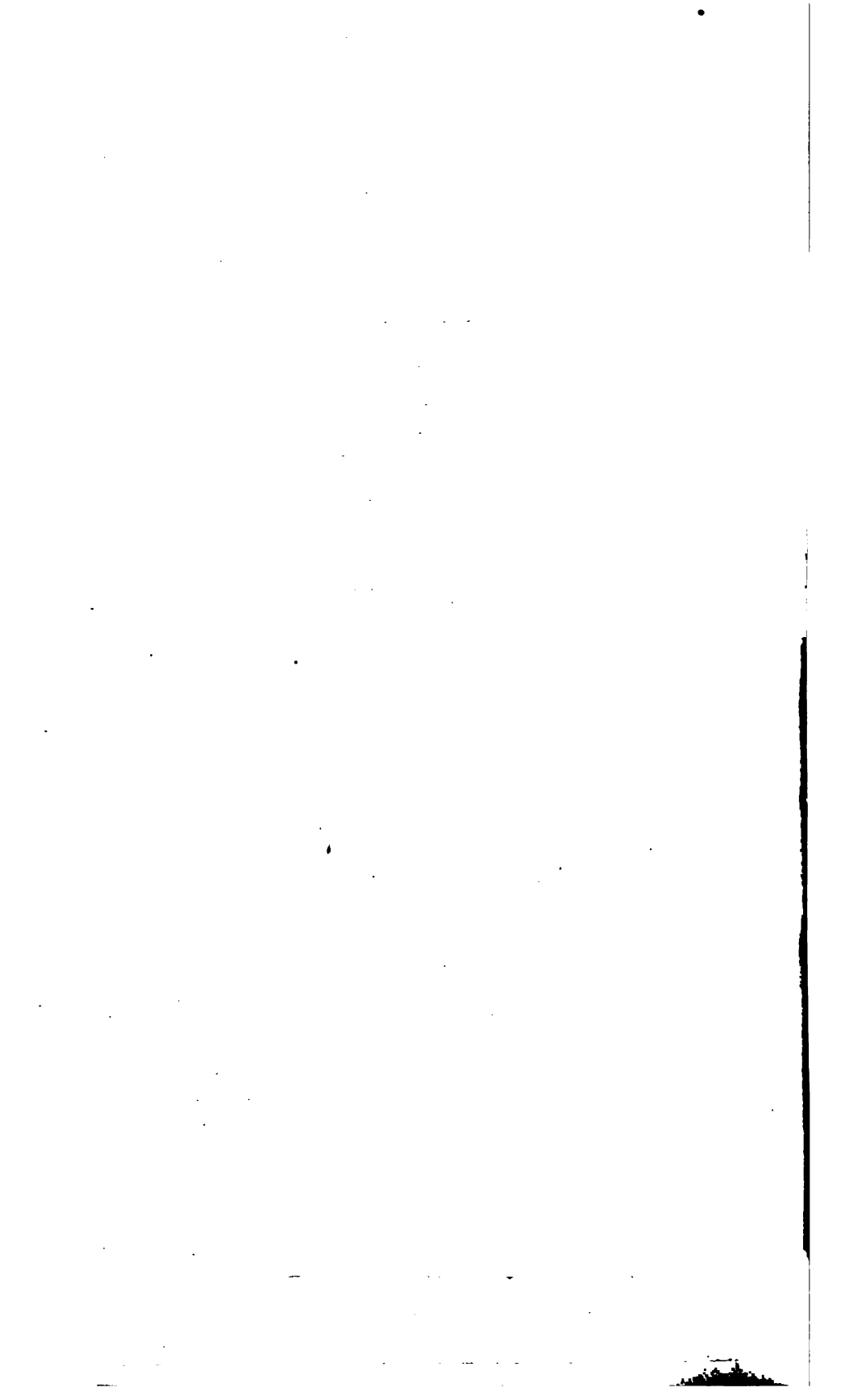
DAVID A. GAGE.

SECRETARY :

LEONARD W. VOLK.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WALTER B. SCATES, Prest.	Rt. Rev. BISHOP DUGGAN.
JOHN B. TURNER,	FRANCIS C. SHERMAN.
DAVID A. GAGE, Treas.	LEONARD W. VOLK, Sec'y.



CONSTITUTION

OF THE

DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE FIRST.

This Association shall be known as the "DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION."

ARTICLE SECOND.

All persons contributing not less than the sum of one dollar to its objects, shall be considered members of the Association, and be entitled to a diploma or certificate of membership.

ARTICLE THIRD.

For the energetic and successful prosecution of the object of this Association—namely, the erection of a suitable monument in honor of the late Hon. STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS, to be placed over his remains at Cottage Grove, near the city of Chicago, or elsewhere—a Board of Trustees to consist of eighteen persons, a majority of whom, at least, shall be residents of Chicago, or within a distance therefrom convenient for attendance at its meetings, shall be forthwith

appointed, this Association to select twelve members, and the residue to be appointed hereafter by said twelve members so selected; to which said Board shall be committed all the active, executive, and legal powers of the Association without reserve; and especially :

1. The entire charge of selecting and deciding upon a plan for said monument.

2. The adoption of such plan or plans for the raising and collection of contributions in aid of its construction and completion, as they shall judge advisable.

3. The contracting with such party or parties for the complete construction of the proposed monument at such time, and within such conditions as they may approve.

ARTICLE FOURTH.

1. Said Board shall be known as the "BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION."

2. The whole number of said Board shall be divided into three equal sections, one section to retire alternately every five years; and all vacancies in the Board made by such retirement, by resignation, disability, death, or otherwise, to be filled by the remaining members.

3. Said Board shall organize by the election, at such times as they may direct, of a President, Treasurer, and Secretary, (which Secretary, at their discretion, may be outside of their body, to be of approved capacity, integrity, and particular abilities for the

office, and receive, at their discretion, a remuneration for his services), as also of an Executive Committee of the Board for the better transaction of its business, together with such other officers or agents as they may judge needful and proper.

4. Said Board shall make and establish such rules and regulations relating to its meetings and organization, the duties of its officers and agents, and the transaction of its business, as in their judgment shall be thought best.

5. Said Board shall hold, through its Treasurer, all property or monies, now, or hereafter to be acquired, in the name or for the purposes of this Association ; shall have a legal seal, and shall seasonably secure such legal incorporation, under the authority of the Legislature or of existing laws, as shall give full validity to its acts.

6. Said Board shall hold themselves individually and exclusively of the Association, responsible for all expenditures of money made by them, beyond such amounts as are or have been actually collected and paid in to their Treasurer.

7. Said Board may, at their discretion, elect individuals of this, or any other State, to be Honorary members thereof, or of the Association in general, under such provisions and conditions as they may see fit to establish ; *provided*, that no person upon the condition of pecuniary contribution shall be made an Honorary member of the Association, upon the payment of a sum less than twenty dollars ; nor an Honorary member of the Board of Trustees upon the payment of a sum less than one hundred dollars.

8. Said Board shall take seasonable steps to secure, as a preliminary to and on the condition precedent of the completion of the proposed monument, the guaranty of the fee of the land, or such part thereof as may be required for the suitable arrangement of said monument, or otherwise provide for the perpetual and undisturbed security of the same.

9. Upon the full completion of said monument, it shall be the duty of said Board to have set apart and provided a sufficient permanent fund, to be put at interest, the annual proceeds of which shall be applied for the preservation, care and repair of said monument and land ; or, at their election, to convey to the city of Chicago, or the State of Illinois, said monument, or land, or both, upon the guaranty of the authorities so receiving the same, that said monument and the land on which it stands shall be perpetually kept in due preservation and care for all time.

ARTICLE FIFTH.

It is the intention of this Association to intrust said Board with as full and complete powers as may be necessary for the execution of the trust hereby committed to them, whether the same are herein expressed or not.

ARTICLE SIXTH.

Said Board shall, as often as once in each year, publish a full account of their proceedings, as also of their receipts and expenditures in behalf of said monument, duly certified, for the information of the members of this Association, and the public.

BY-LAWS

OF THE

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OF THE
DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

OFFICERS.

The officers of this Board shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer and a Secretary, together with an Executive Board of Direction to be called the "EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION," to consist of five members, including the President, who shall be *ex-officio* President of the Executive Committee; the Secretary of this Board to act as Secretary of the Executive Committee.

The above named officers shall be chosen by ballot, after the first organization, at the annual meeting of this Board, which shall be held on the first Thursday in June.

PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of this Board, or of the Executive Committee, and shall call any special meetings of either at his discretion, or when requested so to do by any two members. In

the absence, or inability to act of the President, either of the Vice-Presidents shall perform his duties, in presiding at or calling meetings of this Board.

TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold all property or monies belonging to the Association, in his own name, in trust for the said Association; and shall keep the same in safe deposit, as the distinct property of the Association, and in its name. He shall pay no monies, except upon the written order of the President, or such other person as may be authorized thereto by this Board, such order to be countersigned by the Secretary; nor shall he make any loan of monies of the Association, except with this Board's consent. He shall keep a due account, to be always open to inspection by any member of this Board, of all property or monies received and all amounts expended by him in the name of the Association, with corresponding vouchers, and shall make report thereof, whenever so required by this Board or the Executive Committee, as also at the annual meeting of this Board, at which time his account shall have been audited by the President, or by an auditor specially chosen by this Board. The Treasurer shall, when required by this Board, give his bond to the President, until the legal incorporation of this Board; after which, such bond shall be given to this Board, with sufficient sureties, to such amount as this Board shall from time to time direct, for the faithful performance of the duties of his office.

SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep a careful record, to be from time to time approved, of all meetings of this Board, or of the Executive Committee; shall call all meetings of either, under the order of the President; shall countersign all orders upon the Treasurer and keep an account of the same; shall conduct the correspondence of this Board or of the Executive Committee, keeping copies of such letters as are written by him, as also duly filing all received; he shall also superintend and direct, with the advice of the Executive Committee, all collections to be made for the objects of the Association, keeping a due account thereof, and seasonably accounting for the same, as made, to the Treasurer; and shall perform all such other duties as the Board, or Executive Committee may direct.

The Secretary shall receive a compensation for his services, at the rate of one thousand dollars a year, besides the re-imbursement of all necessary charges incurred by him in the discharge of his duties.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to counsel and direct the Secretary in obtaining collections for the objects of the Association; to which end they shall issue such circulars and statements, and adopt such arrangements, and appoint, authorize, and instruct such agents, determining their compensation, as they shall judge expedient; besides

recommending to this Board any measures for their action deemed desirable; and they shall do all things to promote the objects of the Association, subject to the orders of this Board. The Executive Committee shall also have the charge and direction of all matters to be from time to time committed to them by this Board. Said Executive Committee shall meet at such times as they may judge best, under the direction of the President, and shall keep a written account of their doings, with the names of all agents appointed by them, which names shall also be, from time to time, published for the information of the public—a full report of the doings of said Executive Committee to be made at each regular meeting of this Board.

MEETINGS.

Regular meetings of this Board shall be held as often as once in two months, on the first Thursday of the month, of which written or personal notice shall be seasonably given to each member. Seven members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of any ordinary business; but no plan or location of the proposed monument shall be accepted, nor any contract or appropriation involving an expenditure to exceed one thousand dollars, be voted, except by this Board, not less than the same number approve the same; nor shall the action of that number be final until ratified at a succeeding meeting, should such ratification be requested by one member present.

AGENTS.

Every Agent appointed in behalf of this Association shall have credentials duly signed by the President and the Secretary, with the seal of this Association attached to the same; and no person claiming to be such agent is to be accredited without the same.

HONORARY MEMBERS, Etc.

This Board may, from time to time, appoint, at their discretion, any citizens of the United States to be Honorary Vice-Presidents or Honorary members of this Board; *provided*, that such appointments shall be respectively voted for by not less than seven members of this Board. Any person, upon the payment for the objects of this Association of a sum not less than one hundred dollars, may become an Honorary member of this Board. Any person paying the sum of twenty dollars may become an Honorary member of the "DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION." All persons paying one dollar or more to the objects of the Association, shall receive a diploma or certificate of membership, duly signed by the President and the Secretary.

VACANCIES IN THE BOARD.

Any vacancies in this Board shall be seasonably filled at any regular meeting, *provided* not less than seven members present shall vote in favor of the candidate; *provided*, further, that no vote by proxy

shall be allowed at such elections, or at any other transactions of this Board.

ALTERATIONS OF BY-LAWS.

These by-laws may at any time be altered or extended at any regular meeting, not less than eight of the whole number of members of this Board approving the same.

APPEAL.

The BOARD OF TRUSTEES appointed by the "DOUGLAS MONUMENT ASSOCIATION," being duly organized for the execution of the patriotic enterprise entrusted to their charge, respectfully submit their doings and designs to the public, confident that no urgent appeal is needed to the friends of the late STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, to assist in the proposed tribute of honor and gratitude to that illustrious statesman and patriot.

Born among the free hills of New England, his early life passed in New York, his maturer years consecrated with generous and never-faltering devotion to his country, he has long been known as the distinguished representative of the West in the councils of the nation, whose boldness, courage, enthusiasm and brilliant talents elevated him to an almost unrivalled power and commanding influence among his countrymen—equal to every emergency, daunted by no obstacle, and acquiring new greatness even in disaster and seeming defeat, giving him an acknowledged place in the constellation of eminent statesmen and patriots whose names will ever illumine the history of our country.

Without recalling the various and eventful occasions of his brilliant career as a politician and statesman, on which he won the renown which was so willingly and warmly conceded to him, it needs only to recur to his last appeals of a true and magnanimous patriotism in behalf of his imperilled country, rallying all hearts to a loyal and self-sacrificing maintenance of the Union of these States and the constitution of our hitherto great and united Republic, to vindicate his full claim to an honorary and grateful remembrance, now that he has fallen, in the meridian of his fame, when, never more than now, his eloquent voice and inspiring courage are needed in his country's hour of darkness and trial.

In the tranquil rest of the grave, the departed can be reached, indeed, by no honors a grateful country can rear over his remains. But not less to ourselves, and to our country, and to the generations yet unborn, who are to enter upon the sacred heritage and responsibilities of freemen, than to him, is it due, that his grave should not be left unmarked by some enduring tribute of national honor and gratitude.

In seeking to secure a fitting monument to perpetuate the name of DOUGLAS, the Trustees feel assured that they but represent the warm and unanimous sentiment which found prompt utterance throughout our country on his lamented death; and they desire to be actuated in the accomplishment of the sacred charge committed to them by an inviolable regard to what is due alike to the honored dead, and to the sentiments which consecrate his memory in the hearts of his friends and countrymen.

In submitting the plan of organization and proceedings adopted for and by this Board, it is hoped that the same will commend itself to the general confidence and approval. It is believed that the judicious precautions early adopted will be a sufficient guaranty, that all due care, fidelity and good judgment will be employed, to secure an early and satisfactory achievement of the work they have undertaken.

The Trustees presume to make no demands, nor do they prescribe limits, in their appeal to Mr. DOUGLAS' friends. They forbear, at this time, even from presenting any anticipatory design for the proposed monument, either in respect to its form or cost, beyond such suggestions as propriety may dictate, leaving the matter to be finally determined hereafter by what shall appear to be the wish of the public, as expressed in their voluntary benefactions to his memory.

It has been the desire of this Board to afford the broadest scope to the liberality of the public, and to do this in such a manner as to connect the names of the humblest contributors, with the Association formed to honor the departed statesman.

The Trustees cannot hope, without the concurring vigilance of the public, to guard against all contingencies of imposture or misplaced confidence in the collections proposed by them.

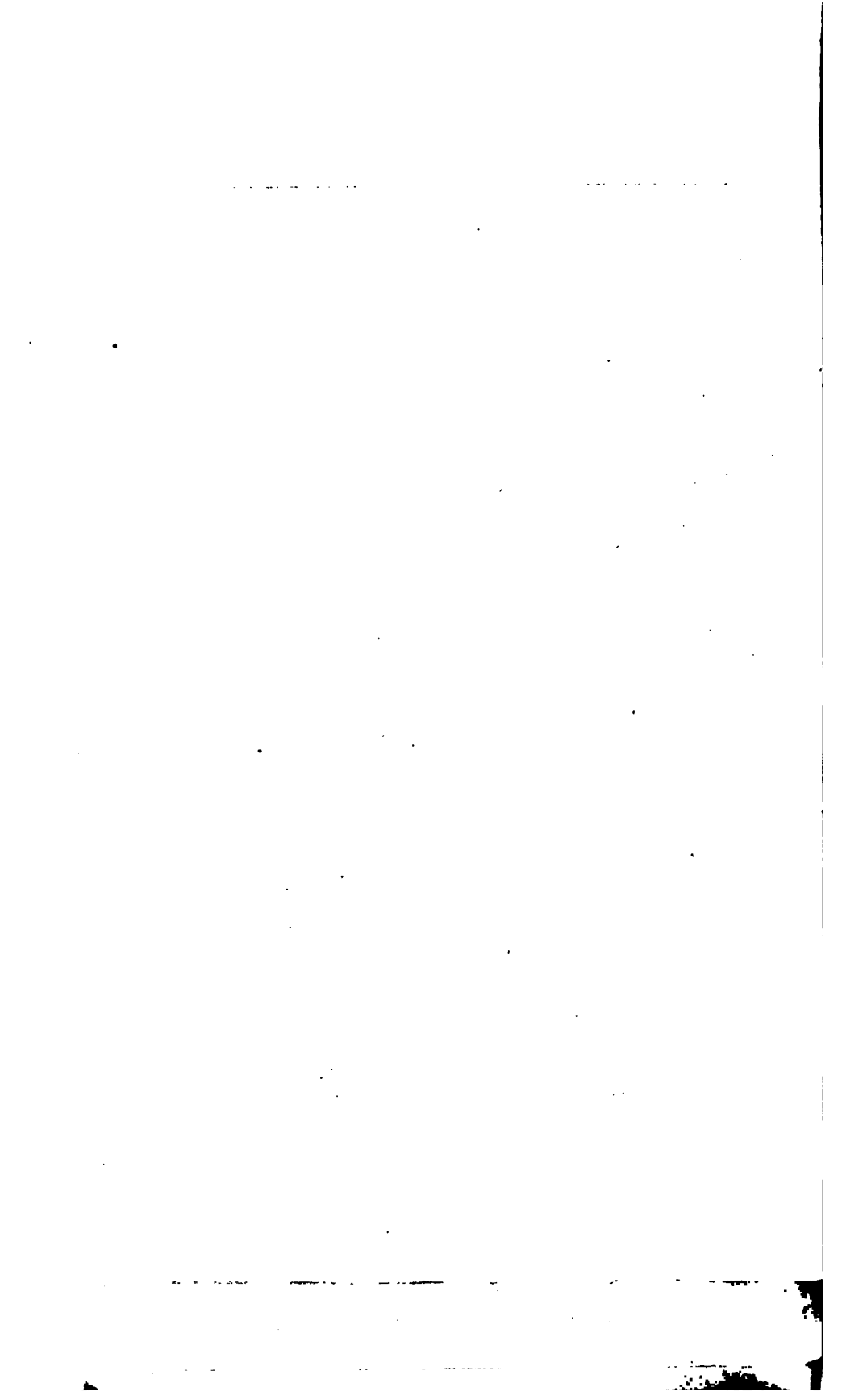
They beg to have it distinctly understood, that all authorized agents of this Board will carry with them authentic credentials, under the seal of the Association, which, it is hoped, may guard with due caution against misrepresentation and fraud.

In prosecuting their proposed collections, it is the intention of the Board to afford opportunity to the friends of the late Mr. DOUGLAS, in all parts of the country, to unite in this national tribute to his memory. To this end, they would be gladly assisted by the voluntary organization of local auxiliary associations, to be under judicious and reliable management, with which this Board may be in communication, and to which diplomas will be forwarded, in return for such moneys as are collected and forwarded.

Should any individuals feel prompted to anticipate a direct appeal by a voluntary transmission of money in aid of the object, the same can be forwarded by mail or otherwise to the Treasurer.

The appeal which this Board makes to the fellow-countrymen and friends of the late Mr. DOUGLAS, cannot be deemed untimely, even amidst the dark hour of the Republic, and the privations and distress of an unnatural war. None more than that patriotic statesman sought to avert, by just and constitutional aims, legitimate complaint; none more than he, when treason menaced the foundations of our national existence and glory, proclaimed in truer and more inspiring tones his steadfast loyalty and everlasting fidelity to the Union and constitution,—bequeathing to his country, in his dying words, unquestioned tokens of the allegiance which had inspired his whole life, and which, breathing from his silent grave, may yet reanimate and restore the divided glory of our common country.

Surely is it not untimely to rear now enduring marble over his honored remains, bearing forever the last words which burst from his dying lips —“TELL MY CHILDREN TO OBEY THE LAWS AND UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION.”







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